STUDIES IN INDIAN HISTORY

Madhya Pradesh Through the Ages

STUDIES IN INDIAN HISTORY



VOLUME 2

Editors

S.R. BAKSHI • O.P. RALHAN

This encyclopaedic study has been weaved into four volumes covering various aspects of the region through its ages. The highlights of the theme are socio-economic, cultural and political developments through the ages. Undoubtedly all these volumes have been dealt with in a comprehensive way. Indeed all the events are well-knit and give useful details on the subject.

Volumes I to IV cover the land and the people and all useful details which are meant for teachers, social scientists researchers, parliamentarians, statesmen and students in India and abroad. Efforts have been made to fill up gaps with the help of writings of eminent authors. We are grateful to them.

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Volume – 2

Pindaris and Marathas

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MADHYA PRADESH THROUGH THE AGES

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PINDARIS AND MARATHAS

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Preface

The history of central provinces, now called Madhya Pradesh, has deep bearing on socio-economic, cultural, religious and political aspects of a long period. It gives us a comprehensive outlook and make us weave a readable story of the period in question. The Marathas, Pindarics and other races have been dealt with in several ways. We assess this period in various ways and can do justice to numerous socio-economic and political aspects.

The encyclopaedia has been divided into four volumes which depicts the comprehensive glimpse of central India in its several phases.

Volume I has bearing on land and the people and contain Jamuna and Godavari, the hidden treasure, wealth, including plants, the C.P. Legislative Assembly and role of Pandit Ravi Shankar Shukla, law and order, D. P. Mishra and his career and last but not the least the revenue settlements.

Volume II has deep bearing on Pindarics and Marathas of the vast land of Central India. The role and growth of Pindarics, military, operations against them and Maratha's rule in Malwa have been depicted in this volume.

Volume III deals with society and economy in Madhya Bharat, administrative machinery of Paramaras and religious traditions.

Volume IV Social Revolution towards Swaraj, which has deep bearing on various phases of Bhopal. The struggle of the people has been highlighted.

We have collected the material from several institutions, viz. the Sapru House Library, Delhi University Library, Nehru Memorial

Museum and Library, Central Secretariat Library, Jawaharlal Nehru University Library, Indian Council of Historical Research Library, Jamia Millia Islamia Library and Sahitya Akademi Library, and feel beholden to the members of these centres of research for their support during our researches. We have used the relevant material from the writings of eminent authors to fill up the gaps. We are thankful to them.

These volumes would be useful for teachers, research scholars and students in India and abroad.

Contents

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Geography

PHYSIOGRAPHY

The city of Jabalpur with a population of 2,56,996 (according to the Census 1951), is the biggest city in the New Madhya Pradesh, situated in 23°3' N. Latitude, and 79°57' East Longitude, is the headquarters of a division, district and tahsil of the same name. It lies on the main lines of the Central Railway—229 miles south-west of Allahabad and 616 miles from Bombay.

Jabalpur is situated in a rocky basin about 1289 ft., above the sea-level surrounded by granittic hills which are not more than 1,600 feet above the sea level. The highest point is reached near Sidh Baba temple in the north and is above 1,700 ft. The Bara Simla and Chhota Simla are other higher places across the railway line. South of the ridge lies the Pach Pedi valley—the site of the Mahakoshal Mahavidyalaya—the present venue of the 27th session of the National Academy of Sciences Conference. Across the valley is seen the majestic Sita. pahar (Chhitapar) which is about 1550 ft.

The city lies 6 miles north of the Nerbudda river. It has carved out high cliffs. The famour Marble rocks on either banks of the Nerbudda has been exposed by this river only. The picturesque scenery of the Dhuan Dhar water falls and the Monkey Leap where the river is only 40 ft., wide are attraction to the visitors to Jabalpur. The Marble Rocks are generally white in colour, but at places, red, yellow and grey tints are also seen.

CLIMATE

Jabalpur, lying near the geographical centre of India, experiences a typical monsoon climate. The summers are hot, winters cool and with 57.55 inches abundant rains in between summer and winter

months. July with 19.33 inches is the rainiest months. Most of the rains i.e., 56.3" fall between June and October which is the rainy season. Sometimes hails also occures. Drought too is not uncommon. When there is drought, Kharif crops are spoiled and famine condition may prevail unless the local supply is augmented from outside.

Temperature and Rainfall, Data of Jabalpur

Months	*Min. Daily*	*Mean Max.*	*Max. Rainfall*
January	47.9	77.4	0.82
February	51.0	81.4	0.76
March	58.8	51.61	0.56
April	68.4	00.6	0.32
May	77.3	105.4	0.62
June	78.6	98.1	7.03
July	74.7	86.4	19.38
August	73.6	84.5	16.97
September	72.3	87.1	8.41
October	63.5	87.8	1.88
November	52.3	82.2	0.43
December	46.5	77.1	0.37
Annual	63.7	88.3	57.55

Industries—Jabalpur is an industrial town, though it is also known for truck cropping. All kinds of vegetables are grown in the neighbouring places and are supplied to the city.

In industries, a number of saw-mills are observed which are mostly manned by refugees from West Punjab. They get their wood supply from nearby forests. To the north-east of the city lies the Gun Carriage and the Ordance Factories of the Government of Indian which employees thousands of persons in them. Two Pottery works are also here —The Perfect Potteries and Messrs. Burn & Co., which supply their wares to various parts of the country. The local handicrafts include handloom weaving, brass working, stone-

cutting, the manufacture of images from marble rocks, bidi manufacture, etc.

Jabalpur is also known for its military importance and large personnel is stationed here.

A large market is held every Sunday in the centre of the city known as the Sunday Market where one can get anything both new and second hand.

The important places of interest are marked on the enclosed map.

A Short Sketch of the History of Jabalpur

D. S. Chauhan, M. A.

The history of Jabalpur can be traced back to hoary antiquity. Even in the pre-historic times, it must have been a place of importance. However, we shall confine ourselves to the historic period. The dawn of historic times, in Jabalpur, opens with the period of Asoka Maurya. The rock edict of Rupnath in Sihora Tahsil, is the earliest landmark of authentic history of the district and carries it back to Third Cent., B. C. In the Rupnath Edict—The beloved of the Gods—(Asoka) speaks thus 'It is more than 32 years and a-half that I am a bearer of the Law and I did not exert myself strenuously—but, it is a year and more that I have entered the community of monks and that I have exerted myself strenuously. Those gods, who during this time were considered to be true Gods in Jambudvipa, have now been abjured. Through exertion comes the reward and it cannot be obtained by greatness. Even a lowly man who exerts himself may attain heaven—high though it is. And for this same purpose, this precept has been inculcated. Let both the lowly and those who are exalted exert themselves and in the end gain true knowledge and this manner of acting should be of long duration".

This proves that this area was an integral part of the Maurya Empire and was considered important enough to be chosen for the issue of this edict under Emperor Asoka.

After the fall of the Mauryas in 184 B. C., the Sungas who succeeded the Mauryas at Pataliputra under Pushyamitra retained their hold on the Central or Home-provinces of the Empire. This

dynasty ruled up to about 72 B. C. The Kanvas who succeeded them in the North had only a short period of rule and their power was confined to Northern India. The Andhras or Satvahanas fined to who established their power in the last quarter of the 1st Cent. B. C., were able to extend their power in the Deccan and also to some parts of Central India. But, none of these dynasties from Sunga downwards have left any marks of their rule in the district. The position is equally vague during the period of the Kushans and Bharavinas and the Vakatakas.

With the advent of the Guptas in the beginning of 4th Cent., we again come to a firmer ground of certainty. Emperor Samudra Gupta (roughly 325-375 A. D.), launched an aggressively ambitious policy of conquest all around and after subjugating the Gangetic plain—embarked on his tour of conquest (Digvijaya Yatra) to the South. He marched against South Kosal (Mahanadi valley) and then subdued the forest kingdoms included in Orissa and Gondwana (old C. P.). The Allahabad pillar Inscription mentions the various kings and tribes who paid obeisance to his might. Amongst them, the Kharparikas deserve special notice here. On the basis of an inscription found in the neighbouring District of Saugor, it appears that the Kharparikas lived somewhere in these areas of Jabalpur and Saugor.

Jabalpur was included in the dominions of a feudatory of the Guptas known as Parivrajaka Maharajas who lived somewhere near Bijeraghogarh (in Murwara Tahsil. Some 6 inscriptions of these kings have been found dated in the Gupta era between 475—528 A.D. In one, 2 villages of the Province of Tripuri (modern Tewar—6 miles from Jabalpur), are mentioned.

On the borders of Bijeraghogarh, another family of Uchchakalpa Maharajas connected chronologically and territorially with Parivarajaka Maharajas, ruled and some portion of the present Jabalpur Distt. undoubtedly under their sway.

By the middle of the 5th Cent., the Gupta Empire had to face the terrible attacks of the white Huns. For a time, they were checked by Skanda Gupta; but ultimately, overcame the Gupta defence and swept over the greater portion of N. India. Then followed a period of confusion in which the local chiefs became independent, retaining

allegiance to the nominal paramount power. That the raid of the Huns extended to this part is clear from an inscription in the Saugar District. The Huns were, however driven away by about 528 A. D., when there is clear evidence that Jabalpur was under the Parivrajakas. the Betul plate dated 516 A. D., in the reign of Smakshobha, mentions Tripuri. another plate dated 528 A. D. of the same reign was found near Bijeraghogarh. How much longer, thus dynasty continued to flourish, there is no evidence to show, but it appears that it may have lasted till the beginning of the 7th century A. D.

THE PERIOD OF KALACHURIS

The Kalachuris, also known as Haihayas, ruled over this area for about 300 years. This area was then known as the kingdom of Dabhala or Dahba (as mentioned by Alberuni). The exact date of Kalachuri advent into the district is not known. The earliest mention of the Kalachuri kings in the inscriptions is that of Budhraja in 580 A. D. It appears that the proper Chedi country was not identical with Jabalpur area, and it was included in it only later on. With the decline of the Gupta power, the Parivrajakas who ruled over this area must have succumbed to the Kalachuris whose allies the Uchchkalpa Maharajas were living quite close to them. By about 900 A. D., Tripuri or Tewar became the capital of the Kalachuri rulers. They also started an era known as Kalachuri or Chedi-Era which began on 5th Sept. 48. A. D.

The following is the list of Kalachuri Rules of Tripuri.

1.	Kokalla I	—	845-875 A. D.
2.	Mughdhatunga Sankargana Prasiddha Dhavala	—	900 A. D.
3.	Balaharsha		
4.	Keyurvarsha Tuvarajdeva I	—	925 A. D.
5.	Lakshmanraja	—	950 A.D.
6.	Samkargandeva	—	970 A. D.
7.	Yuvarajadeva II	—	975 A. D.
8.	Kokalladeva II	—	1000 A. D.
9.	Gangeyadeva-Vikramaditya	—	1038 A. D.

10. Karnadeva	—	1042 A. D.
11. Yashahkarnadeva	—	1122 A. D.
12. Gayakarnadeva	—	1151 A. D.
13. Narsimhadeva	—	1155 A. D.
14. Jayasimhadeva	—	1177 A. D
15. Vijaysimhadeva	—	1180 A. D.

Kokalla I was a powerful ruler and a great general. He is said to have granted "freedom from fear" to Bohoja I Pratihar. He gave his daughter in marriage to the Rashtrakuta King (Krishna II). The military campaigns of Kokalla raised the dynasty to the rank of Imperial ruling families of the age.

Sankaragana—Son of Kokalla succeeded him with the titles of Mugdhatunya, Prasidhadhavala and Ranavigraha sometime between 878-888 A. D. He helped his brother-in-law the Rashtrakuta Krishna II against the Eastern Chalukyas but was defeated. His daughter was married to the son of Krishna II. He died in the latter part of the 9th cent., and was succeeded by Balharasha; about him nothing particular is known. Then came his younger brother Yuvaraja I, who assumed the title of Keyurvarsha.

Lakshmanraja—Son of Yuvaraja I pursued the traditional expansionist policy of his predecessors. He raided East Bengal then ruled by the Chandras. He defeated the king of Kosala, humbled the Chief of Lata (a feudatory of Rashtrakutas) and won a victory over Mulraja I (of Chalukya dynasty) of Gujrat. He also extended patronage to the Saiva saints. After his death, his own Sankargana came to the throne. His reign was short and unevenful.

Yuvaraja II – He was the younger son of Lakshmanraja and ruled in the last quarter of 10 cent. He constructed the capital Tripuri. But lacking in military powers, he had to face the attacks of the neighbouring power, Chalukyas of Deccan and Parmara Munja who occupied Tripuri for sometime. After this defeat the ministers of Yuvaraja II removed him from the throne and placed his son Kokalla II on the throne.

Kokalla II – The Kalachuris regained their power and pretige under him. He defeated the Chalukya King and led an attack against

the Chalukyas of Deccan and also advanced up to Gauda country ruled by Palas. His son Gangeyadeva succeeded him sometime before 1019 A. D.

Gangeyadeva—He bore the title of Vikramaditya. He was a great king. He carried successful military expeditions all around to distant parts. he defeated the king of Kosala and conquered Utkala (Orissa). In the North-East, the conquered and annexed Benares to his kingdom. He struck Gold, Silver and Copper coins. His name is mentioned by Alberuni. He died at Prayaga and was succeeded by his son Lakshmikarna better known as Karna.

Karnadeva or Lakshmikarna—He was a very powerful king and perhaps the greatest general of his time. Benares and Allahabad were included in his kingdom and he occupied West Bengal for sometime. He led successful expeditions against Odra and Kalinga, overran Kanchi (Conjivaram) and claims to have defeated many other Southern rulers (before 1048 A. D.). He captured Bundel-khand from the Chandellas, and defeated Parmara Bhoja but had to leave Malwa and face in invasion by Bhima Chalukya.

He assumed the title of Trikalingadhipati. He was also a great builder. He founded the city of Karnavali (modern Karnabel near Tewar) and built a temple at Benares. His son Yashkarna succeeded to the throne sometime before 1037 A. D

Yashkarna—He led two expeditions—one against Champaran (North Bihar), and the other against the Andhra country. But his power was weakened by the attacks of the neighbouring powers especially the Parmars. After him, his son Gayakarna came to the throne. From Gayakarna onwards, the Kalachuri power began to decline. And his successors Narsimhadeva and Jayasimhadeva were able to maintain their position with difficulty.

Vijayasimha—the last ruler of the dynasty lost his hold over the kingdom after about 1212 A. D.

The Rise and establishment of Gond power of Garha-Mandla

The Gonds were aborigines who are still found in lage numbers in the adjoining district of Mandla. Their chiefs took

advantage of the weakness of the Kalachuris and declared themselves independent. Their leader was one Jadu Rai who served the Kalachuri king for sometime and then left the service. He then married the daughter of Nagdeo the Gond chief of Mandla and became the Chief of the Gonds after his father-in-law. With the help of his minister Surbhi Pathak, a dismissed officer of the Kalachuris, he planned and succeeded in the final overthrow of weakened Kalachuri power. Surbhi Pathak was rewarded with the hereditary ministership. Only one inscription dated in the year 1667 A. D., has been found at Ramnagar (Mandla Distt.). It traces the geneology of the dynasty up to Hirdeshah (53rd).

Sangram Shah—It was under Sangram Shah who came to the throne in 1480, that the boundaries of the kingdom were extended to 52 Garhs (Districts) including Saugor, Damoh and possibly Bhopal, the Nerbudda Valley and parts of Sahpura plateau. Some of the garhs he merely raided and allowed to be ruled by their original masters. He was the most illustrious prince of the dynasty. He built the fortress of Chauragarh in Narsinghpur and Sangram Sagar Lake near Garha. On its bank he constructed a temple (Bajna Math) dedicated to Bhairava.

Durgavti—Sangram Shah was succeeded by his son Dalpat Shah who transferred his capital from Garha to Singorgarh—situated on a hill that commands a pass between Garha and Saugor. he was a man of uncommonly fine appearance. There was proposal for his marriage with the daughter of Chandel Raja of Mahoba but the negotiations failed on account of considerations of caste Durgavati expressed a desire that if the Lord of Garha wanted, he should win her hand by fight. Dalpatshah then marched against the Chandel ruler defeated him and brought off Durgavati.

Dalpat Shah died 4 years after the marriage, leaving a 3 years old son Bir Narayan. Durgavati became the regent during the minority of her son. "Of all the kings of this dynasty, she lived most in the pages of history and the grateful recollections of her people". She ruled well and constructed various works of public utility. Rani Tal, a reservoir, near Garha was constructed by her. But she could not rule peacefully for many years.

INVASION OF ASAF KHAN

In 1564, Asaf Khan, Mughal Viceroy of Kara-Manikpur under Emperor Akbar—was attracted by the spectacle of these rich and prosperous territories ruled by a woman. Asaf Khan attacked the kingdom of Garh-Mandla. The Rani bravely defended her kingdom against the invader near Singorgarh,but was defeated. Next, she offered strong resistance to the Mughals near Barela (10 miles from Jabalpur) but, finding her position hopeless, she ended her own life with a dagger on the battlefield. Thus the valiant Rani became a martyr to the cause of the independence of her kingdom, and a heroine for the posterity. Bir Narayan, the young son was also followed by Asaf Khan to Chauragarh Fort, which was taken by him. The young prince was trampled in the confusion. Asaf Khan obtained valuable booty. He tried to hold the area as an independent kingdom, but had to bow down before the Emperor.

Ain-i-Akbari mentions Garha as a division of the Government of Malwa. But the princes of Garha-Mandla continued to rule over the area though acknowledging the overlordship of the Mughal Emperor.

After the departure of Asaf Khan, Chandra Shah brother of Dalpat was declared Raja of Garha-Mandla. But he had to cede 10 districts to the Emperor Akbar. He was succeeded by his son Madhukar Shah, who treacherously killed his elder brother. He was the first to visit the Emperor in his capital. After Madhukar Shah, his son. Prem Narayan came to the throne.

The Bundela Invasion of Jujhar Singh—The Bundela chief of Orchcha, Bir Singh Deo felt insulted because Prem Narayan had failed to return a visit to him. Bir Singh on his death-bed instructed his son Jajhar Singh to avenge the insult by the conquest of Garha. Jujhar Singh marched against Prem Narayan who took shelter in the Chauragarh Fortress which was invested by the Bundelas. After some months, the Bundela Chief pretended to raise the seige and invited Premnarayan for a meeting, caused his assassination and then captured the fort. All the other forts in the kingdom came under his control.

The son of Premnarayan—Hirde Shah who was at Delhi heard of the catastrophy and came back to his country and avenged his farther by killing Jujhar Singh.

Hirde Shah as king devoted his attention mainly to the welfare of his people who had suffered much from the war and disorders. He planted many groves. In one of them, which was the largest, the present cantonment of Jabalpur stands is said to have continued 100 thousands Mango trees. He also built a number of reservoirs of which Ganga Sagar near Garha was the largest.

Hirde Shah died after a long reign of over 70 years. His son Chhattar Shah came to the throne after him; but died after a short reign of 7 years and was succeeded by his son Kesari Singh.

Kesri Singh could rule only for 3 years and was treacherously murdered by his uncle Hari Singh who wanted to get the throne.

The people, however proclaimed Narind Shah 7 years old son of Kesari Singh as their ruler and killed Hari Singh in battle. Hari Singh's son Pahar Singh joined Aurangzibs army and served under Diler Khan. Later on, he attacked Narind Shah with the help of Mughal forces but was defeated and killed. His 2 sons who were converted to Islam once again tried to oust Narind Shah but were defeated and killed. thus Narind Shah was able to save his kingdom; but his power was weakened. He had to give some portions of the kingdom to the neighbouring chiefs and 5 districts to Emperor Aurangzib.

Narind Shah died in A. D. 1731 after a reign of 40 years leaving a depleted kingdom of 29 garhs to his son Maharaj Shah who ruled peacefully for 11 years.

MARATHA HEGEMONY

Invasion by Peshwa—The Peshwa claimed the right to levy tribute from the Garha Mandla but the king resisted the demand. As a result, the Peshwa sent his forces which besieged Maharaj Shah in the fort of Mandla. It fell and the Raja was put to death.

Seoraj Shah—Peshwa Baji Rao then recognised Seoraj Shah. one of the sons of Maharaj Shah as a ruler of the area on condition to the Marathas. The Raja was also troubled by the Bhonslas of

Nagpur who claimed Chauth under the pretended authority of the Satara Raja—the result was further loss of 6 districts.

Seoraj Shah died in 1749 A. D., and was succeeded by his son Durjan Shah—a young boy of cruel and vicious nature. His conduct caused disgust to various people. Ultimately his uncle Nizam Shah conspired and succeeded in assassinating the nephew.

Nizam Shah now became the ruler. By his affable manners and capacity, he soon reconclied all classes to his rule. He ruled up to 1776 A. D. After his death, there was a struggle for the throne amongst various claimants and the Marathas were able to get the upper hand. Narhar Shah, the last ruler tried to drive out the Marathas but failed and was taken prisoner and died in 1789. Thus ended the rule of the Garha-Mandla dynasty.

Sir. W. Sleeman writing in 1825 paid a tribute to the good administration of this dynasty.

Jabalpur was ruled for 17 years by the Marathas from Saugar. They made Jabalpur their H. Q., and built a small fort on the site now called Lord Ganj. In 1798, Jabalpur-Mandla area was ceded by the Peshwa to Raghuji II of Nagpur and Jabalpur remained under Bhonsla rule till its occupation by the British in 1817. This period unfortunately for Jabalpur coincided with the worst period of Bhonsla administration which at this time had become arbitrary and corrupt. The people were subjected to cruel extraction of money. The peasants also suffered much under them and the district was left in an impoverished and exhausted condition when it was acquired by the British.

British rule—In Nov. 1817 when Appa Sahib Raja of Nagpur rose against the British power, Lord Hastings ordered Brig. Gen. Hardyman, to proceed to Jabalpur. Hardyman reached Jabalpur on the 19th Nov. found the Maratha forces ready to oppose him. The British ultimately defeated the Maratha forces and captured the Town. It was henceforth occupied by the British forces and became a British territory under the agreement made after the battle of Sitabuldi (Nagpur) in 1817 which was subsequently confirmed by the Treaty of 1826.

Early period of British Rule—Immediately after its occupation, a provisional Govt. was established under Major O'Brien as President. When the provisional government, was abolished, the district with the rest of Nerbudda territory was for a time ruled by a Commissioner, who was subject to the Resident at Nagpur. In 1820, a division of 12 districts was formed under the designation of "The Saugar and berbudda Territories" in which Jabalpur was included and was placed under an agent to the Governor-General at Jabalpur. On the formation of the North Western Provinces in 1835, the Saugar Nerbudda territories were added to the new province.

The Bundela Rising—The people of the area were not easily reconciled to the British rule.

In 1842, there started a rebellion under two Bundela Landlords in Saugar District, which spread to the Jabalpur district. the cause of the insurrection was the discontent of the people against the jurisdiction of the new civil courts. the rebellion lasted for about one year. As a result of the rebellion, Lord Ellenborough, the then Governor-General made a re-organisation of the province. It was separated from the northwestern provinces and again placed under an Agent to the Governor-General and Sir. W. Sleeman, one of the ablest officers of the British, was appointed as first Agent.

This arrangement, however did not work well and the Saugor Nerbudda territories were again transferred to northwestern provinces in 1852.

1857 in Jabalpur—In 1857, it was the Headquarters of Major Erskine, Chief Political Officer of the Saugor Nerbudda territories. It was garrisoned by the 52nd Native Infantry. At the beginning of the year, it was reported that small wheat cakes (Chapatis) were being circulated from villages to village; but Major Erskine did not consider it serious enough. News of the Meerut rising reached Jabalpur in the middle of May. For a few weeks men of 52nd showed so sign of dissatisfaction; but it soon became apparent that they were only waiting for a favourable opportunity. On 16th June a murderous attempt was made on an Adjutant. The Saugor troops (adjcent Disst). broke into revolt on the 1st of July and it caused a change for the worse in the conduct of the men of the 52nd at Jabalpur. On the 3rd

of July, 3 companies took their muskets out of the bell of arms with no good intentions but were pacified. But the arrival of the Mutineers from Saugar was expected and there were rumours of risings in the district. So the British decided to assemble all the Christians in the Agency House occupied by the Commissioner. It was barricaded and prepared for defence. In the meanwhile help was requisitioned from Nagpur in the form of the Kamptee Movable Column which reached this place on the 2nd August and was then sent to neighbouring districts for restoring order.

At this time Raja Shanker Shah (of Gond Dynasty and his son Raghunath Shah planned to occupy Jabalpur with the help of 52nd Native Infantry and others; but the plot was known before it could mature, and Raja Shanker Shah and his son were arrested. On the 18th Sept., the old Raja and his son were mercilessly blown away from guns after a sham trial. On the same night, the whole of 52nd regiment marched out of the station to Patan (20 miles away) took Major MacGregor,—commanding a small force there, by surprise. However, they offered to release him in return for 10 men of their own regiment left behind. The British, however did not comply.

Now the Kamptee column then at Damoh was ordered back to Jabalpur. This column attacked the rebels of the 52nd at a village called Katangi—and defeated them hadly. The column returned to Jabalpur. But the disturbances an the activities of the insurgents continued unabated and the British could not check them. In one of the skirmished, Major Jenkins, Asstt. Quarter Master General of Nagpur force was killed. The Raja of Bijeraghogarh for sometime completely closed the Mirzapur road and the British could not dislodge him till Jan. 1958. The Rebels of Bargi area (24 miles from Jabalpur) also created considerable trouble till Dec., 1857. The rebels were dispersed by Sir Hugh Rose and Gen Whitlock by May 1858. By August 1st, peace was restored to the District.

The Aftermath of 1857—The British then wreaked a terrible vengeance on those who had helped the uprising in any way. Their property was confiscated and complete prohibition on keeping arms of any type was imposed. Every Indian was ordered to make *salam* to any British officer passing by.

After the so called Mutiny, the Saugor and Nerbudda Territories were merged into a separate province known as Central Provinces with Nagpur as capital, in 1861. It continued to be under the Central Provinces till the States Reorganisation in Nov., 1956, and is now a part of newly constituted state of new Madhya Pradesh.

MONUMENTS AND PLACES OF INTEREST IN JABALPUR

The District is abounding in monuments and places of interest. These monuments cover the period from the 3rd Cent. B. C., to modern period. They are not only important for their architectural composition but also for the scenic beauty of the sites. A short account of some important places of interest is given below:

Rupnath—About 3 miles from Bahuriband and 19 miles from Sihora, is the name of the a famous Linga of Siva placed in the cleft of a rock where a nala pours over the Kaimur range of hills. There are 3 pools in the rocks—one above the other. It is here on a detached boulder that the rock edict of Asoka of 232 B. C., lies engraved.

Tewar—A village on the Marble Rocks road 8 miles to the West of Jabalpur. Its ancient name was Tripuri, and its antiquity can be traced to about 3rd Cent. B. C. Later on, it remained the capital of the Kalachuris for about 3 hundred years. In the 11th century Karnadeva made an extension to the south-west and changed the name to Karnavati (now known as Karanbel). The ruins of this place have been unfortunately utilised in the construction of Ghats, temples, houses and railway bridges. Still one can find a number of pieces of fine sculpture lying scattered here and there. There is also a big tank named Balsagar in the middle of which a modern temple has been constructed with old materials.

Gwarighat—A village picturesquely situated on the bank of Nerbudda about 5 miles from Jabalpur. The Nerbudda is here fringed with masonery ghats and on the Basant Panchmi, Kartik Purnima and Eclipse days, it is crowded with bathers from the city.

Garha—Which forms a suburb of the city was once the capital of the Gond dynasty of Garha-Mandla, whose ancient keep known as Madan Mahal still crowns the low granite range along the foot of

which the town is built. Tradition gives great untiquity to Garha. The Madan Mahal is sad to have been built by Madan Singh about 1100 A. D. It is a plain small building of a no architectural pretensions and its main interest lies in its picturessue position, perched as it is upon the very top of the hill on a huge boulder rock. It commands a magnificent view of the country around. It commands a magnificient view of the country around. Under the Mahal to the west is the beautiful Ganga Sagar Tank, and near it, the Bal Sagar. A temple of Sharda Devi is also in close proximity.

EDUCATION

(a) The University of Jabalpur*

While the University of Jabalpur is the youngest of the Universities of India, Jabalpur is among the oldest centres of University education in modern India. The present Mahakoshal Mahavidyalaya, formerly known as Roberton College, dates back from the year 1836 when it was established in Saugar as a High School Institution and it was affiliated to the University. Until 1862, "the Saugar Government College" was under the departmental control of the Northwestern Province, as the Uttar Pradesh was then called.

2. At that time Jabalpur, as the capital of the "Narbada Territories" and an important military centre, was growing in importance and in 1873 the college was therefore, transferred to Jabalpur, lock, stock and barrel. The journey of the staff and students, with their books and furniture, was made by bullockcarts and covered a period of six days. On migration to Jabalpur, the college changed its habitation four times. It started work in a Sarai in Miloniganj. But in 1893, it was housed in the Lakh-Khana building (now occupied by the Model High School) which became vacant on the migration of the Rajkumar College to Raipur. In 1916, the college shifted to a beautiful spacious campus about 4 miles from the city and was housed in new buildings, specially designed for creating a truly academic atmosphere of a truly residential

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* By courtesy of the Rector, University of Jabalpur.

university. The new buildings provided residential accommodation not only for the great majority of the students but also for the great majority of the teachers. The college was given its own hospital and powerhouse. In accordance with the spirit of the times, these old buildings of the Government Arts Colleges have, in recent years, been assigned to the Government College of Engineering and the old Arts College is now housed in its newly-constructed commodious buildings in Pachpedi, which include a spacious hall accommodating nearly 1500 persons and a building for the Science Department which is perhaps as large as that of any college of Science in India.

3. The Government Arts College, when it shifted from Saugar, was affiliated to the University of Calcutta both in respect of the Matriculation and F. A. courses. In 1885, the B. A. classes, which provided only instruction in English, Mathematics and Science courses,—were added to the college. In 1891, the college was affiliated to the University of Allahabad and provision made for the B.Sc., and LL.B., as well as the B. A., courses. An engineering course was also included for some years. In 1923. on establishment of a provincial university in the capital town of Nagpur, the college was affiliated to Nagpur University and from 1946, when the University of Saugar was established it remained affiliated to it until this year.

For the past few years, the college is also providing post-graduate courses in a large number of subjects in the Faculties of Arts and Sciences.

4. While this college is one of the oldest colleges in the country, it appears from the Rambles and Recollections of Sir William Sleeman that; even as early as 1828, there was a "little Jabalpur College" of which "Gurucharan Babu", "educated in the Calcutta College" was the Principal. Its details still await research.

5. This Government College of Arts and Science at Jabalpur has for nearly three quarters of a century, been the educator of the administrators, public men and writers of the northern part of the State of Madhya Pradesh. Several teachers of the college were graduates of Oxford and the tutorial system introduced by them won the admiration of educationists from outside the Province.

6. The second University institution to be established in Jabalpur was the Prantiya Sikshan Mahavidyalaya, formerly known as the Spence Training College, which migrated to Jabalpur from Nagpur in the year 1902. It was in its earlier years affiliated to the University of Allahbad and in 1923 and 1946 to the University of Nagpur and Saugar respectively. It is one of the oldest and well-recognized colleges for training of teachers in the country and now provides several courses in education up to the standard of the Master's degree.

7. The first private college to be established in Jabalpur was the Hitkarini Arts College, founded in 1933 by the wellknown public society, the Hitkarini Sabha of Jabalpur. subsequently, 2 private colleges of Law and 2 private colleges of Commerce and 1 private college of Education were added to the academic fraternity.

8. Within the last ten years, the State Government has established 7 well-accommodated, well-equipped and fairly well-staffed colleges for professional courses, viz: the Engineering College, the Veterinary College, the College of Agriculture, the College of Home Science for women, the Medican College, the Postgraduate Basic Training College and the Government Polytechnics. The College of Engineering provides a course in Telecommunication as well as courses of Civil, Mechanical and Electrical Engineering—including courses for the Master's degree. It has at present 800 students for degree courses on its roll.

9. The initial number of colleges with which the University is entering on its career is 17 of which 9 are maintained by the government and the rest are managed by private bodies. Out of these 17 colleges, 7 provide for postgraduate courses. All colleges are located in the city of Jabalpur which creates a favourable atmosphere for development of the University of Jabalpur into a federal university.

10. When the buildings of Roberton College were planned during the period 1912-16, the educational atmosphere of the province was surcharged with a strong hope for creation of a University of the teaching type in Madhya Pradesh. Those responsible for public instruction of the province seriously contemplated such proposals even before the date on which the

Saddler Commission which in 1918 recommended establishment of teaching universities in India had been appointed by the Government of India. The choice of the site and the planning of the buildings for the Government Arts College gave encouragement to the hope that in due course the college will form a centre of a teaching university. The First Great War, however, interevened and charged the situation. The proposal for establishing a University was established, not at Jabalpur but at Nagpur, and not a teaching one, but mainly an affiliating one.

11. It was not until another quarter of a century rolled by that the idea of a University for Jabalpur was considered afresh. The Radhakrishnan Commission recognised the "traditions of higher education" in Jabalpur and suggested that "Jabalpur may develop into a Unitary University". The proposal was further examined by the Committee on Financing of Education of Madhya Pradesh appointed by the State Government and presided by the then Secretary of the Ministry of Education and former Vice Chancellor of Allahabad University, Dr. Tarachand. the Committee definitely recommended, in 1952, "the immediate establishment of a University of the federal type at Jabalpur". The scheme for a University of Jabalpur was accordingly accepted by the Government of the old Madhya Pradesh and included in the Second Five Year Plan of the State.

12. A Bill for establishment of the University of Jabalpur, the structure of which is largely based on the recommendations of the Radhakrishnan Commission as well as the structural provisions in force in a University of the Federal type like that of Delhi was introduced in the Legislature of old Madhya Pradesh in March 1956 and, after being amended by the Select Committee, passed into law in September, 1956. It received the assent of the Governor on 25th October 1956. By a notification of the new State of Madhya Pradesh, the Act was brought into force on 11 March 1957. With the appointment of the Vicechancellor and the Rector of the University by the Chancellor of the University on 12th June 1957, the University began functioning from that day and is now engaged at present in the work of initial organization including the framing of its first Statutes, Ordinances and Regulations and the formation of its various bodies.

13. Some of the principal features of the new Act are as follows:

(i) The Governor of the State of Madhya Pradesh is the ex-officio Chancellor and Education Minister the exofficio Pro-Chancellor.

(ii) The present Vice Chancellor is holding his office in an honorary capacity.

(iii) Under the Act, the University will have ten Faculties, viz. Arts, Science, Law, Education, Engineering Medicine, Veterinary, Agriculture, Home Science and Commerce.

(iv) In the constitution of the University bodies, the element of election has been reduced to the minimum. While the functions of the Court, Academic Council and the Executive Council will be mainly along the lines followed in other Universities, membership of these bodies will, in most cases, be exofficio or according to seniority by rotation. the Registered Graduates will, however, elect 20 members to the Court.

(v) Recognition of Professors and Readers and appointment of teachers of private colleges will, generally speaking, depend on the recommendation of the Selection Committees of the University responsible for selecting teachers for the teaching departments of the University.

(iv) The Academic Council of the University will be responsible for co-ordinating the annual teacher programmes of the colleges as a whole. As they are all situated in the city of Jabalpur, this is expected both to raise the standard of instruction and to ensure economy by co-ordination.

(vii) The colleges which give postgraduate instruction in at least two subjects and fulfil the conditions prescribed by the University Statutes will be treated as "constituent colleges" of the University, which will form a more intimate part of the University than the ordinary affiliated colleges.

14. Preparation of the first Statutes, Ordinances and Regulations in accordance with the provisions of the act is in progress.

15. The question of a central site for the University, which would not be too distant from the sites of the majority of the colleges is engaging attention of the University and is at present under the active consideration of the State Government.

16. There are at present no teaching departments maintained by the University itself. Their establishment will depend on the financial help that may be available from the State and Central funds.

(b) Colleges

1. Mahakoshal Mahavidyalaya

The oldest institution not only in the Mahakoshal area; but, perhaps in Madhya Pradesh—is the present Mahakoshal Mahavidyalaya, formerly known as Robertson College. This College is more than a hundred years old having celebrated its Centenary in 1936. In fact, the history of this college is the history of educational development in the province.

Started in 1836, at Saugar as a High School, it moved to Jabalpur in 1873. Since then, it has flourished and grown from strength to strength turning out a recurring crop of brilliant young men who enriched their province and country by their contributions to Science, Learning and Art.

It started as a Science College. But, soon facilities for the teaching of Arts subjects were also provided. It is a full fledged Post-graduates institution—a University in miniature, where facilities for the study and research in the Faculties of Arts and Science are provided up to the Postgraduate stage.

The college has nearly 1,300 students on its rolls and 120 Professors and Lectures. The college shifted to the present site in 1955. This premier institution of this province is being ably looked after by the Principal Dr. R. L. Nirula, Ph. D., D. I. C. (London)

2. Prantiya Sikshan Mahavidyalaya

The history of the college may be traced back to the year 1889, when a Teachers' Training class was started in Nagpur for the training of the teachers intended for the Secondary Schools. In 1902, the institution was transferred to Jabalpur with Mr. R. M. Spence as its Superintendent.

In 1911, the institution was developed into a Training College with Mr. Spence as its first Principal and was affiliated to the Allahabad University for the L. T. Degree. After the establishment of the Nagpur University, the College was affiliated to it in 1923. From 1946 to 1957, it remained under the academic control of the University of Saugar and now it is affiliated to the University of Jabalpur.

The year 1947 ushered in a period of expansion for the College. New courses of study were started and the utility of the institution was further enhanced by the addition of Postgraduate classes in education, Psychology (as applied to education). Psychology (as applied to Sociology) Diploma in Psychometry and Diploma in Sociometry.

In 1948, the State Government changed the name of the College to Prantiya Sikshan Mahavidyalaya.

The College is, perhaps, the oldest of its kind in the State and is manned by a highly qualified and competent teaching staff. Prof. A. Mishra, M. A., M. Sc., B. A. (Geog) LL. B., B. T., is the Principal of the College. The number of students on roll is 300.

3. Howbagh Teachers' Training College

The College was started in 1928 and recognised by the Government in 1929. In 1947, the College was affiliated to the University of Saugar and is now under the academic control of the University of Jabalpur. It receives grant-in-aid from the government.

The Howbagh Teachers Training College caters for the needs of women teachers of Secondary Schools. The College has class for Diploma in Nursery education. Kumari Zillah Soule M. A., M. Ed., is the Principal of the College which has 90 students on its rolls.

4. Hitkarini Mahavidyalaya

The College was founded in 1933 and is managed by the Hitkarini Sabha. It imparts instruction up to the B. A. standard and is fast developing into a postgraduate institution. The college has 425 students on its rolls. Shri B. P. Bajpai, M. A. (Visharad) is the Principal.

5. Hitkarini Law College

The College was started in the year 1933 under the management of the Hitkarini Sabha, Jabalpur. It provides instruction for the LL. B. Degree. Shri S.C. Updhayaya is the Principal of the College.

6. Mahila Mahavidyalaya

This college, run by the Maharashtra Shikshan Mandal, was started in the form of a coaching class in 1946 and was affiliated to the Saugar University in 1952. It provides instruction up to the degree classes in Arts subjects and has 110 students on its rolls. This college has the distinction of being the pioneer in Mahakoshal area in providing separate facilities for higher education to women.

Shri G.M. Ranade M. A., (Marathi & English) is the Principal of the college.

7. Government Engineering College

The College was started on 1st April 1947 and is the largest Engineering College in the Central Region of India. It prepares students for the degrees of B. F., (Hons) in Civil, Mechanical, Electrical and Telecommunications engineering. It offers instructions for the M. F., Degree in the following subjects.

(1) Soil mechanics and foundations engineering.

(2) Internal combustion engineering.

(3) High Voltage engineering.

(4) Radio and U. H. F. engineering

(5) Advanced electronics.

(6) V. F., and Carrier Telephone Engineering.

From 1951 to 1957, the College has put in the field 700 duly qualified engineers. In view of the larger intake from 1956-57, it is expected that the number of engineers produced by the College will increase.

The College has 879 students on its rolls and, staffed by highly qualified professors, is making a steady progress under its distinguished Principal Shri S. P. Chakravarti.

8. G. S. College of Commerce and Economics

The College was started in 1948 by the Marwari Shiksha Mandal of Wardha, providing facilities for the study of commerce.

The College provides courses of instructions for the I. Com., B. Com., and M. Com., and M. A. (Eco) examinations. One year Postgraduate course in Economic Planning has been started this year. This College has made ammendable progress and has more than 500 students on its rolls.

Shri P.L. Baldua M. A. (Eco) B. Com., is the Principal of this College.

9. Government Veterinary College

The College was started in the year 1948. Dr. M. Y. Mangrulkar is the Principal of the College.

10. D.N. Jain's College of Arts and Commerce

The college started as a Degree College both for Arts and Commerce in 1949 and is run by the Jain Education Society. It is now developing into a Postgraduate institution and has recently started M. Com., and M. A. (Eco) courses of studies.

The number of students on its rolls is 483 an the College is flourishing under the able guidance of Shri B. S. Audholia, M. A. (Eco.), M. Com.

11. St. Aloysius College

The College was started in 1951, originally to meet the requirements of a number of deserving students who could not prosecute higher studies in Science owing to lack of accommodation in the existing institutions and also of those who wanted to offer arts courses through the medium of the English language because they had received their high school education in languages other than Hindi.

At present, it offers courses both in Arts and Science up to the degree level and provides instruction both in Hindi and English. There are 275 students on its rolls. Rev. Fr. Van. Engelen is the Principal.

12. Postgraduate Basic Training College

The College was started in 1954 by the State Government in collaboration with the Govt. of India under the Extension Educational Development Scheme. This College provides courses of instruction, training and facilitates for experimentation in the field of Basic Education. It prepares the students for B. T. (Basic) degree. Shri Bhave is the Principal (incharge).

13. M. H. College of Home Science for Women

The M. H. College of Home Science for Women was started on the 15th July, 1954 by the State Government through the munificence of Messrs. Hargovind Das of Jabalpur who donated a sum of one lakh of rupees for the purpose. In July 1955 the Mankuarbai Arts College which was started by Nari Siksha Mandal of Jabalpur was taken over by the State Government. Both these institutions are now run by the State Government under a common head and are housed in the same building.

The College imparts instructions on the lines of the famous Lady Irwin College, Delhi and Home Science College, Baroda. The Arts College provides instruction up to the B. A. degree course of the University of Jabalpur.

Shrimati K. Mehta, M. A., B. T., is the Principal and the College has 370 students on its rolls.

14. Government Plytechnic

The College was started in the year 1955. It prepares students for a variety of technological courses. Shri B. L. Bhattacharaya is the Principal of this College.

15. Medical College

To meet the needs of medical education in the Mahakoshal, the College was started on 1.7.1955 by the State Government. It provides courses for the M. B. B. S., Degree. At present, it is located in a part of the buildings of Mahakoshal Mahavidyalaya as its own buildings are under construction on the Bheraghat road. There is provision of hostel accommodation for men students and a hostel for women students is shortly to be started. Though young in years, the College has already acquired a reputation for clinical and teaching work which is done by a highly competent band of scholars under the able guidance of its Dean, Dr. Rangilal M. B. B. S., (Luck) L. M. (Rot) D. O. M. S. (Lond) F. R. C. S. (Eng). The College has 188 students on its rolls.

16. Government Agriculture College

The College was started in the year 1955. Dr. R. L. Gupta is the Principal of the College.

17. Navin Vidyabhavan Law College

The College was started in the year 1956 and provides instruction for the LL. B. degree. Shri R. C. Sanghi is the Principal of the college.

(C) The National Cadet Corps

Movement and a Short Sketch of its Development in Jabalpur

R. B. Malviya, M. Sc.

INTRODUCTION

The National Cadet Corps Movement today has become a part of the national life of our country. It is the premier youth organization of the students community of our land. The prosperity and progress of a nation depend upon its objects being achieved in a planned and orderly manner. For this is required a disciplined mind and body. To achieve this it is essential to start from the very beginning of the development of an individual's mind. The growth of the mind through education is the basic need. The education imparted in the classrooms by the schools, colleges and universities remains unfinished, if the student remains indisciplined. Unless young boys and girls develop their character properly their education is likely to have little meaning "It is therefore, important on the part of the educational institutions that every student should be imbued with a very high sense of moral integrity, of discipline, of team spirit, of love and loyalty for the fellow human beings, a sense of duty, the value of time, of the sense of responsibility and enjoying at all times perfect mental, moral and physical fitness". It is by the harmonious blend of the brain and the brawn that the student youth of our country get the best opportunities of growing up during their stay in an educational institution. It is here that they are shaped into disciplined worthy citizens who later play their part in the service of the nation.

During the World War II, a great difficulty was experienced by the Government of Indian in finding a sufficient number of suitably qualified Indian officers for the Armed Forces. Although a great number of officers were always available, they lacked necessary qualities of initiative and self-confidence, and a sense of responsibility.

"These essential ingredients of leadership, which are as necessary in an officer as physical courage and bodily fitness, do not

necessarily develop naturally, nor is it always easy to develop after a man's character has been formed. They have usually to be brought out by training during the impressionable years of man's life. Their absence in so many candidates would seem, therefore to point to some defect in the present system of education. It is believed that the institution throughout India of a National Cadet Corps might go far towards putting this right".

It is with this object in view that the Government of India decided to set up a 'National Cadet Corps Committee' under the chairmanship of Pandit H. N. Kunzru. And finally as a result of this committee's report, the Government submitted the NCC Bill to the Parliament. The Parliament approved of the bill and passed an act which was called National Cadet Corps Act, 1948.

AIMS

The Aims of National Cadet Corps are three:

1. Development of leadership, character and the ideal of Service.
2. Stimulation of interest in the defence of the country to the widest possible extent.
3. Building up of a reserve of potential officers to enable the Armed Forces to expand rapidly in a National emergency.

After the advent of Independence, to meet a great urge for self-development, this youth organization was launched in 1948, and since then it has grown very rapidly. At the time of its inauguration it started with 35,000 cadets in (1948-49) and at the close of (56-57) it had well exceeded 1,35,000 and it is hoped that by the end of 1961, the figure may be within the 3 lakh limit. The Senior Division of NCC works in Colleges, the Junior Division in the High Schools and ACC in lower age groups, in our schools. The cadet corps is not confined to the boys. It has a great appeal to the girls also.

The NCC primarily aims at imparting military training and to mould the character of young boys and girls in making them model citizens of our Great Republic and to create in them a sense of leadership. The cadets of NCC also engage themselves in social

welfare and social service of all descriptions. They have built roads, village tracks, small bridges, playgrounds and huts for the poor. They have undertaken soil conservation and afforestation. The girl cadets have taken the task of teaching villagers hygiene, sanitation, child welfare and clean living habits. Medical aid and adult education campaigns have become a very common feature of the cadet corps. The cadets render timely help in case of emergency such a accidents, floods and epidemics and are thus adding their humble and modest contribution in the development of the country.

BRIEF OUTLINE ORGANIZATION OF NCC

Under the union defence ministry there is a Director of NCC (Brigadier) with his Head Quarters in New Delhi. In his office he is assisted by Deputy-Directors, Assistant-Directors and other staff officers. Under the NCC Directorate there are the following 14 Circles, each commanded by a circle commander who is of the rank of Lieut-Colonel. To the Circle Headquarters are affiliated all the NCC and ACC units of the different colleges and schools situated within the jurisdiction of that Circle. At present there are 14 circles as shown below:

No.	1 Circle	—	Bombay
No.	2 Circle	—	Madras
No.	3 Circle	—	Madhya Pradesh
No.	4 Circle	—	Bengal and Andamans
No.	5 Circle	—	Bihar
No.	6 Circle	—	Uttar Pradesh
No.	7 Circle	—	Delhi, Himachal Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir
No.	8 Circle	—	Punjab
No.	9 Circle	—	Assam, Manipur and Tripura.
No	10 Circle	—	Mysore
No.	11 Circle	—	Kerala
No.	12 Circle	—	Andhra Pradesh
No.	13 Circle	—	Orissa
No.	14 Circle	—	Rajasthan

No. 3 CIRCLE MADHYA PRADESH.

Originally, No. 3 Circle consisted of Madhya Pradesh Hyderabad and Bhopal with its circle Headquarters a Kamptee. In the beginning there were 3 infantry Independent company's at Nagpur, Jabalpur and Amraoti, which in due course of time were raised to 4 Company battalions and additional units were raised at Sagar, Akola, Raipur, Khandwa, Bilaspur, Bhopal and Hyderabad.

After the reorganization of states No. 3 Circle now consists of only the new state of Madhya Pradesh with its circle headquarters now stationed at Indore. In the new state now, there are 5 full strength Infantry Battalions at Jabalpur, Bhopal, Rewa, Raipur and Sagar with Independant Infantry Companys at Jabalpur, Bilaspur, Khandwa, Indore, Gwalior and Ujjain. Among the technical units Armoured squadron, Battery, EME Section, Engineering Platoon and Signal section are stationed at Jabalpur. There are two other signal section at Raipur and Sagar. Medical companies are in Gwalior and Indore and one is already proposed at Jabalpur.

Senior Girl's Division of NCC consists of 10 Girl troops stationed at Jabalpur, Bhopal, Sagar, Indore, Rewa, Bilaspur, Ujjain, Raipur, Gwalior and Khandwa. The training for the Girl cadets in these units mainly consists of first-aid, Weapon-training, Map reading, Telephone exchange and wireless operating, Hygiene—sanitation, child welfare and other allied subjects.

Apart from this there are a great number of Junior Division Units and ACC units, both for boys and girls in most of the high schools of the state. Every year all the NCC units, both the Senior and Junior Divisions and ACC hold their Annual Camp, Infantry cenrally, and Technical Units going to the different technical Army units in India.

Social Service work in NCC started in-1953. Regular Camps are held, once every year during the vacations, when both the boys and girls and teachers participate in the national development schemes. First social service camp in Madhya Pradesh was held in 1953 at Chikhalda where a big bund was constructed. Second time the cadets camped in 1954 at Pachmarhi where desilting of Pachmarhi Tank and construction of a bund a one end of the tank was completed by the cadets. Third camp in 1955 was held at Betul

where a 7 miles road through a hilly and rocky area was constructed. Fourth camp in 1956 was held at Khandwa where again a 5 miles long road joining a village with the main town of Khandwa was completed. The last camp was held in 1957 at Raheli where levelling and filing up a pond and construction of a children park was done by the cadets. In all these above social service campaigns the cadets worked as a team with great enthusiasm and the quality of the finished work was of a very high order. These camps had helped in filling up of a wide gulf that exists in rural and urban people whose minds always work in different channels. These camps organized by the NCC have ushered in a new era in the history of our country—the fusion of the minds of the rural and urban India.

N.C.C. IN JABALPUR

Originally, there was one Rifle Company in 1948 which gradually was raised to a 4 Company batallion and now an additional Infantry Independent Company and a number of other Technical units have been raised. The following are the different senior Division NCC Units stationed at Jabalpur, together with their strength of cadets and officers.

N C C Units	*Year of Inception*	*No. of Cadets*	*No of Officers*
2 MP Bn NCC	1948	581	13
Jabalpur Independant Coy.	1955	154	3
1 MP Signal Section	1948	120	2
4 MP Battery	1948	120	2
4 MP Armoured Squadron	1953	90	3
7 MP Engineering Platoon	1948	60	1
5 MP E.M.E. Section	1953	60	2
8 MP Girl's Troop	1949	60	1

The Colleges which send their students to the above units are Mahakoshal Mahavidyalaya, Government Engineering College,

Prantiya Shikshan Mahavidyalaya, Hitkarini Mahavidyalaya, St. Alloysis College, D. N. Jain College, G. S. College of Commerce, Teachers Training College Howbagh, Agriculture College, and Government Polytechnic.

Apart from this, the Junior Division NCC and ACC function in the following high schools of Jabalpur. Model High School, Hitkarini Vidyalaya, Maharashtra and Mahakoshal High Schools, Navin Vidya Bhavan, A. P. Narbada High School. G. C. F. High School, Kalaniketan, Anjuman Islamia High School, D. N. Jain High School, Christian High School, Hitkarini Girl's and Government Girls High School, Johnson's Girls' high School, Christ Church High School, St. Joseph Convent and Girl's High School.

All told the total strength of NCC Senior Division Boys and Girls, Junior Division and ACC, in Jabalpur at the movemet is 2616 Cadets and 55 Officers.

The message of the National Cadet Corps to the youth of our country is that Indian today needs the pulsing spirit of enterprise and effort, of youth fired with a purpose. Youth cannot afford to think in terms of 'soft jobs' in this competitive age. Indian today faces the situation which England went through at the beginning of the Industrial Era, or the conditions are more or less similar to that of America when her young men carved a civilization out of virgin land. We want in India today the young blood to come forward for hardwork with a smile. The training imparted in NCC is of immense value as it is helping in the national building and moulding the youth of the nation into disciplined citizens of tomorrow.

CONTRIBUTION IN THE FIELD OF SCIENTIFIC STUDIES

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Dr. R. L. Nirula

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IV. Mr. A. K. Ghose (Reader in Telecommunication Engineering)

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GEOLOGY OF JABALPUR DISTRICT

Very few regions in India have so much of geology compressed into so short a space as the area around Jabalpur. The rocks, minerals, and fossils around this place have received some attention as early as in 1828 and a number of contributions relating to them have followed in later years. Because of its location in the central part of

the country, easy accessibility, picturesque natural scenery, particularly in the gore that the Narbada has cut for itself through white glistening marbles, and above all, great geological interest, this part of Madhya Pradesh attracts many a students of geology, as also tourists, from all over the country every year. Situated between the vindhyan ranges in the north and the Situated between the Vindhyan ranges in the north and the Satpura hills in the south, the district of Jabalpur has within its borders a more or less complete sequence of geological formations from the oldest Archaeans to the recent deposits. It is a good epitome of the geology of India, in particular, of peninsular India.

In the following pages a short description of the geology of the district is given along with a brief account of its important minerals. The geological formations observed are arranged below in the usual order, the oldest at the bottom and the youngest at the top:

Recent deposits

Deccan trap and Intertrappenas

Lametas

Gondwanas

Vindhyans

Archaeans

Archaeans—A considerable part of the area in the district is covered by the Archaeans formation, comprising a wide variety of crystalline rocks. They may be divided into the gneisses and schists formed by the metamorphism of the most ancient of sediments known locally as the Bijawar system and in other parts of India as the Dharwars, and intrusive gneisses and granites of later age than the Dharwars.

In the low-lying hills east of the Jabalpur-Katni rail-road, there is, according to Oldham, "a continuous exposure of Bijawar rocks with a greater development of argillaceous element in them. Fine earthy slates of reddish tints are the lowest strata seen. Their upper beds are associated with the quartzite, which underlies the limestone and is intercalated with it and the limestone itself is not very cherty.

Ribboned jasper beds, passing locally into bluish quartzite, among which rich hematite beds are well developed above the limestone, and both jasper and quartzite are frequently brecciated. Locally conglomeratic, earthy schists are also freely associated with this band. above the iron band there is again a considerable thickness of earthy schists. Bedded trap occurs throughout the series. These rocks are not on the whole greatly disturbed. Low undulating dips prevail, although, locally, there is much contortion. The highly inclined planes, so general in the schists, are of cleavage, not stratification. The thickness of the whole series cannot be great, probably it is under 1200 feet, and there is scarcely any presumption that the conformable slates beneath the limestone attain any great thickness. Notwithstanding these conditions, the rocks are in an advanced state of metamorphism. The limestone is generally crystalline. The schists are often highly micaceous, horn-blendic and garnetiferous and the iron-ore is mostly the micaceous form of hematite". Hacket has divided these Bijawars into the following 4 stages:

Chanderdip stage	Sihora sub-stage,
Lora Stage—	Gosalpur sub-stage
Bhitri stage	
Majhauli stage	

Bose united the Majhauli and Bhitri stages into one and described it as consisting of limestones, shales and greenstones. The Gosalpur and Sihora sub-stages, according to him, comprise of banded micaceous hematite-quartzites with phyllites and massive jasperiod quartzites respectively. The topmost stage consists of micaschist and limestone. These stages do not seem to be definite startigraphic units. In general, marbles, and calcareous roks occur in the lower beds. Through the famous "Marble rocks" of Jabalpur, the Narbada, after its fall at Dhuvadhar, runs or about, 2 miles in a defile that is, barely twenty yards in width. Ferruginous formations and iron-ores occur in the upper beds.

The series of rocks described above, thus, includes conglomerates, some of which have been described as crush conglomerates by Krishnan, phyllites, micaschists, calcitic and

dolomitic marbles, banded ferruginous rocks associated with manganese and iron-ores and sills of altered basic igneous rocks, all of which have a foliation strike of E.N. E.—W. S. W. These rocks bear an extraordinary resemblance to the Archaeans of Singbhum in Bihar and Gangpur in Orissa and have been shown by Fermor to belong to the Dharwar system.

The Dharwars are intruded by granite which is well exposed in the town of Jabalpur, around Madanmahal and further south up to the Narbada river.

Vindhyans—In the northwestern and western parts of the district in the ridges around Katangi and further north, the Vindhyans are well exposed. They rest with a marked unconformity on the Archaeans with Kaimur Quartzites at their base and shales and sandstones at the top. The sandstone, red in colour, covers the surface of the plateau and is, more or less, horizontal. Bedding is thick and generally undisturbed. Ripple marks are abundant and indicate a shallow water origin for the sediments. The ridge extends in a N. E.—S. W., direction for some miles up to Katni, where the lower Vindhyan limestone also crops out.

Gondwanas—The lower division of this formation is not represented in the district, but, of the upper division, the Jabalpur series is the one very prominently developed around Jabalpur. this consists of "clays, shales and earthy sandstones with some thin beds of coal. The clays and soft shales, which are the most characteristic beds of this formation, are pale coloured, usually white, pale lavender grey or pale red. The sandstones are false-bedded and generally coarse and conglomeratic. Carbonaceous shales are met with in several places and occasionally one or more thin bands of jet coal" as in parts of Sihora Tehsil, and at Lamesta Ghat on the Narbada. the thickness of the Jabalpur series nowhere exceeds 1,000. It is divided into two stages—the lower, called Chaugan stage and the upper Jabalpur stage. Plant fossils occur in both the stages. They include Thinnfeldia, Dictyozamites, Taeniopteris, Nilssonia, Ptilophyllum, Otozamites, Williamsonia, Pagiophyllum, Elatocladus, Brachyphyllum, Araucarites, Cladophlebis, Gingkoites and Podozamites.

Lametas—The Lameta beds, named after the Lameta Ghat on the Narbada river about 10 miles south-west of Jabalpur, are fluviatile or estuarine deposits resting on older formations such as the Archaeans or the upper gondwanas. They are developed extensively in and around Jabalpur and their occurrences in the Jabalpur Cantonment area have been mapped in detail by Matley. The following five zones are clearly recognized in them:

(c) Upper sands

(d) Upper Limestone

(c) Mottled Nodular Beds

(b) Main or lower limestone, cherty

(a) Greensand

The thickness of the Lameta beds, as a whole, varies widely between 160, and 70, exposures being typically seen in the Chui hill, Chota Simla and Bada Simla hills in Jabalpur town. The total thickness of the beds in other places is much less being about 20, the individual beds varying in character when followed horizontally. Fossils were first discovered in them by Major General Sleeman and in later years the study of different collections indicated them mostly to be bones of a sauropod dinosaur, Titanosaurus. In addition, vertebrae, pelvic bones, chevron bones ribs and a number of teeth of a carnivorous dinosaur about 20 or more in length and allied to Megalosaurus were also found. From a number of localities in the district, dinosaurian fossils have been reported and they include Lamestosaurus, Indosaurus, Laplatasaurous, Jubbulporia and Antaretosaurus, besides fishes—Lepidosteus, Pycnodus, Eoserranus and invertebrate fossils such as molluscs—Melania, Physa, Paludina, and Corbicula.

Deccan Traps—the Deccan traps which are the most extensive geological formation of peninsular India occupy large areas in the district. They have been divided into three groups, upper, middle and lower, though only the lower division is represented here. Mostly they rest on the Lametas and occupy the hill tops in and around Jabalpur forming characteristic flat-topped plateau-like features. They are very widespread south of the Narbada river which flows along a faultplane. The flows have a

great superficial extent in comparison with their thickness which in the lower group is of the order of 500. The individual flows very in thickness and are generally horizontal in disposition though a gentle warping has been noticed in places. In addition, sills and dykes of the Deccan trap are described by Crookshank.

The traps are extraordinarily uniform in composition over much of the greater part of the area and correspond to dolerite or basalt with an average specific gravity of 2.9. The common type of trap has ophitic texture and is Composed of abundant labradorite and attitude, which, according to West, is sub-calcic. There is interstitial glassy matter, the proportion of which varies a good deal, its alteration to what is called green-earth being frequent? Magnetite is an important accessory. Secondary minerals are often developed either as fillings in amygdular vacities of the rock or as products of alteration and replacement. They include chalcedony (and its varieties, agate, jasper, etc.), quartz and amethyst, calcite and a number of zeolites, of which radiating and sheaf-like aggregates of stilbite are the most common. The traps exhibit characteristic spheroidal weathering giving rise to large rounded unaltered boulders surrounded by concentric shells of soft altered mineral matter in the form of onion-flakes on the outcrops.

Inter-Trappean Beds—The lava flows mentioned above are separated by sedimentary beds of small vertical as well as horizontal extent, formed on the irregularities of the surface during the intervals of eruption and developed in small bodies of fresh water such as lakes or minor streams. These beds, known as intertrappean beds, are usually 2' to 10' in thickness though occasionally they are less than a foot thick. They are impure limestones and cherts and are fssiliferous, the most common and characteristic fossil being Physa (Bullinus) prinsepii, a species of freshwater gastropod. In addition, Lymnaea, Union, Paludina, Valvata, Melania, etc., are found besides silicified wood of many species of plants. A number of localities where intertrappean beds occur have been brought to light in recent year, as for example near Khamaria on the road to Bargi as also on he Mandla road.

Recent deposits—Among the deposits formed in geologically recent times may be included laterite, the river alluvia and beds of gravel, etc.

Laterite—The traps are often capped by ferruginous and aluminous laterite which varies considerably in thickness. Ferruginous laterite is common in the Sihora Tehsil, and at Gosalpur the same in manganiferous. Around Katni the laterite is rich enough in alumina to be high grade bauxite. The formation of laterite is believed to have been favoured by the warm humid climate with plentiful and well-distributed rainfall and good drainage in the region.

Narbada alluvium—The Narbada valley in the district is narrow and the deposits in the plains are composed of clays with intercalations of gravel and with kankar (calcareous concretions). The plains are about 100' above the bed of the Narbada. This representing the thickness of the deposits. The recent borings near Shahpura reveal the alluvium, old and new, there to be about 350' in thickness.

The more important minerals that occur in the district are indicated below:

Bauxite—One of the areas rich in bauxite in Madhya Pradesh is Jabalpur District. Deposits occur near Katni, Mahgawan, Dhangawan, Amochh, Chhapra, Sleemanabad, Niwar, Tikaria, Kusuri and in the region from Bargawan to tikuri. The mineral, which is the chief raw material used in the extraction of aliminium metal by electrolysis, is worked arround Katni.

Clay—Clay is found in association with other beds in the upper Gondwana rocks and is quarried extensively in Jabalpur and used for refractory purposes by Messers. Burn and Co., and for pottery work by M/s. Perfect Pottery Co. Ltd.

Copper-Ore—As eary as 1870, copper-ore was discovered at Sleemanabad in veins cutting across the Dharwarian dolomitic limestone. The lodes did not, however, prove to be large enough, nor sufficiently persistent to justify mining operations. They have been studied in detail by B.C. Roy in 1937 and, according to him, the composition of the ore does not seem to warrant optimism and difficulties in extraction metallurgy have to be overcome before exploitation could be begun.

Fuller's Earth—Occurs in the lower Vindhyan rocks at Katni.

Gold—In the Dharwarian rocks in the area S.E., of Sleemanabad, there occur several bands of crushed gold-bearing conglomerates which on prospecting, however, were found to be too low in grade to be workable.

Iron-Ore—Lateritic iron-ore is known to occur in Sihora Tahsil. The hematite and limonite deposits in the Dharwarian rocks, though widely distributed, are mostly in the form of soft micaceous material with a high proportion of phosphorus rendering them unfit in their natural condition for use a blast furnance. Further, the ore appears to be manganiferous.

Lead and Silver—Occur in association with copper ores at Sleemanabad.

Limestone- –The Limestones of the Vindhyans are amongst the most important sources of raw materials for the lime and cement industry in the country. The biggest cement factory of the Associated Cement Companies, Ltd., is located near Kymore not far from the Jukehi Rly. Station and its production is about 1,000 tons of cement per day. Further, Katni is wellknown as a lime-producing centre.

Manganese Ore—Though Madhya Pradesh is wellknown for its rich deposits of manganese-ose, the occurrences in this district are of low grade—They are found near Gosalpur and Sihora on the outcrops of rocks of Dharwar age. The ore is, more or less, cavernous and lateritoid in habit with a low manganese content. It is of little value economically unless a market could be found for such manganiferous iron-ores and low grade manganese ores.

Ochre—Red ochre is mined at Jauli and around Sihora and is exported for consumption in paint industry. The occurrences are in rocks of Dharwar age.

Steatite—Otherwise called talc, soapstone or pot-stone, this is found in great quantity near 'Marble rocks' where it is quarried. It has a colour varying from white to pale sea-green. It is marketed in the powedered form. The production is, however, very low.

ACTIVITIES OF THE AGRICULTURE DEPARTMENT

G. S. Bhatia PH. D., (London)

Four sections of the Agriculture Department, are located at Jabalpur, namely: (1) The Office of the Deputy Director of Agriculture—Wheat Zone: (2) Section of the Second Economic Botanist to Government; (3) Basic Agricultural School, Adhartal; and (4) Government Experimental Farm, Adhartal.

(1) So far the Deputy Director of Agriculture, Wheat Zone is concerned, his jurisdiction extends over eight districts, namely: Jabalpur, Mandla, Balaghat Seoni, Chhindwara, Narsinghpur, Sagar and Damoh. Shri P. R. Dubey, B.Ag., is the Deputy Director of Agriculture for this Zone which has got five Seed and Demonstration Farms, one each at Dinori, Waraseoni, Seoni, Sagar and Damoh. In addition there is one Agricultural Experimental Farm at Chhindwara. Nearly all the crops of the different localities are being cultivated at each of these farms particularly Kodo and Kutki at Dindori Farm, paddy at Waraseoni, Wheat, Gram, Paddy and Sugarcane at Seoni, Wheat, Gram, Sugarcane and Peas at Chhindwara and Sagar; Wheat, Gram, Paddy and Sugarcane at Damoh.

Other important activities of the Deputy Director of Agriculture, Wheat Zone are as follows:

(i) Popularizing of green manuring and other fertilizers.

(ii) Propaganda regarding use of improved seeds and Rust resistant varieties of wheat.

(iii) Popularizing of improved implements recommended by Agriculture Department.

(iv) Soil conservation work and Tractor ploughing of land.

(v) Procurement and distribution of improved seed of Paddy, Wheat and green manuring seed.

and

(vi) To increase the area of cultivation under irrigation facilities.

Rust Resistant varieties of wheat seed are procured under the Pilot Wheat Seed Scheme form A and B class seed—farmers. The seed from the farms is distributed to A class seed—farmers. Seed from A class Seed— farmer is distributed to B class seed—farmers and seed from B class Seed—farmers is distributed to C class seed—farmers. For purchase of wheat seed advances are made to the Agricultural Assistants from the "Personal Deposit Account" of the Deputy Director of Agriculture.

In addition to the above farms, Khamaria farm has been taken over from the Defence Department and it is under the control of the Deputy Director of Agriculture, Wheat Zone, Jabalpur. This farm has 1189 acres of land; but, only 260 acres of land have so far been brought under cultivation and it is proposed to establish it a full fledged farm in the Second Five Year Plan. Its entire area may be irrigated from the Pariat Tank and by fitting the Engine Pumps on the banks of 'Nallas' flowing through the Farm area. Efforts are also being made to develop this farm as a mechanized farm.

(2) The Section of the Second Economic Botanist to Government, is being controlled by Dr. G. S. Bhatia, Ph. D. (London). This section was till recently at Nagpur and has been transferred to Jabalpur since March, 1957. It is purely a Research Section and the research work in this section is being done on about 24 crops comprising of Pulses, Oilseeds, small Millets and miscellaneous crops like Maize and Rabi Juar. The object is to evolve high yielding and disease resistant strains of these crops, either by Section, Hybridization or by the introduction of improved varieties from different states and countries and their acclimatization under local climatic conditions. Testing of the yields of promising strains thus evolved and to maintain the mucleus stock of the pure seed of the improved varieties is also being done by this section. The section is also responsible for multiplying the seed of the improved and tested strains on different Government Farms in the State for distribution to the cultivators and also to supply information on Economic Botany to the cultivators and public in general.

So far Pulses are concerned improved high yielding strains have been evolved in Tur (*Cajanus cajan* Millsp) Mung (*Phaseolus*

aureus Rovb), Urid (*Phaseolus mungo* Linn), Moth *(Phaseolus aconitifolius* Jacq), Gram (*Cicer arietinum* Linn), Lakh (*Lathyrus Sativus* Linn) and Barbati *(Vigna catjang* Walp). In oilseeds good deal of research work has been done on Linseed (*Linum usitatissium* Linn), Til *(Sesamum indicum* Linn), Nigar (*Guizotia abyssinica* Cass), Safflower *(Carthamus tinctorious* Linn) and Castor *(Ricinus communis* Linn) and high yielding strains have been evolved in these crops. Among the small millets, only kodo *(Paspalum scrobiculatum* Linn) and Kutki (*Panicum miliare* Lam) have been dealt with from the research point of view and improved high yielding strains have also been evolved in both these crops. Work on Maize *(Zea mays* Linn) and rabi Juar (*Andropogon sorghum* Linn), has recently been started.

In short the improved high yielding strains are giving higher yield over the locals, ranging from 25 per cent to 200 per cent. The seed of all these improved improved strains has been released to the cultivators.

Special mention may be made here of a strain of mung called Kopargaon mung. This has been evolved by selection by Dr. G. S. Bhatia. It ripens in about 60 days time against 3 to 4 months of the ripening period of other types of Mung. Its seed is also very bold and shining an as such is very attractive. It has given, on an average, 400 lbs., of yield per acre. Formerly, the practice was to have only one crop in most of the rabi areas in the State. By the introduction of this mung, it has become possible to take two crops in these areas that is Kopargaon mung can be taken as a kharif crop in these areas, followed by any other Rabi crop. As it is a leguminous crop it adds to the fertility of the soil and it has been observed that Rabi crop taken after it on the same soil gives higher yield also. The crop also helps to check soil erosion during the rainy days.

If all the cultivated area under pulses, oilseeds and small millets in the State of Madhya Pradesh be sown with the improved high yielding strains of these crops evolved by the section of the second economic botanist, it is expected that it would give an annual profit of 9 to 10 crores of Rupees to the cultivators of Madhya

Pradesh, in addition. it may also be mentioned here that the annual profit accrued to the cultivators by growing only Kopargaon Mung as an additional crop in the whole of the Rabi areas in the state will far more than compensate the entire expenditure spent on this section since the time of its inception in the year 1925.

(3) The Basic Agricultural School, Adhartal is situated near the Government Experimental Farm Adhartal, nearly three miles from the city on Mirzapur Road. It started functioning from the 8th of March, 1954.

At present Shri S. L. Nema, B. Ag., is its Principal. The school aims at impairing training in theory and practical of (A) Agriculture, (B) Agricultural Engineering, (c) Animal Husbandry and Veterinary, (D) Public Health and Medicine, to 120 Gram Sewaks for a period of one year. On completion of its training, they undergo further training in extension methods and principles for a period of six months at other entres "afrording facilities for the training" and thereafter their services are placed at the disposal of Planning and Development Department for extension work in the State. At present there are 37 Gram Sewak trainees on roll and new enrants are being admitted. The average yearly expenditure per student comes to about one thousand rupees.

(4) The Government Experimental Farm Adhartal is composed of four Sub-farms namely Adhartal, Kheri, Richai and Richai Garden. The total area of all these farms is 637.11 acres and all these are under the charge of Shri J.P. Nema, B.Sc., (Agr.), who is the Farm superintendent. Adhartal farm is situated at a distance of about 3 miles from the city an the other three are situated about a couple of miles further off. The main crops grown on these farms are Paddy, Sugarcane, Wheat, Gram, Peas and other rabi pulses and oilseeds. There is also a farm dairy attached to it, which supplies about 30 seers of milk per day. The farm has got in addition a Meteorological Observatory for taking necessary observations on weather data on Sugarcane crop, and also facilities for conducting experimental work on Paddy, wheat and Kharif and Rabi pulses and oil seed crops. It has also got a small nursery for supplying seedlings of mango, Guava, Lemon and other fruits.

A NOTE ON THE JABALPUR FOREST DIVISION.

Shri S. D. N. Tiwari, M.Sc., A. I. F. C.

The total area of the reserved forest of the Jabalpur Forest Division is 629.7 sq. miles. This area falls within the Civil Districts of Jabalpur and Mandla. After the abolition of he Malguzari system about 650 sq. miles of Ex-private Forest have been added to be looked after by the Forest Department. In addition, approximately 300 sq. miles of forest which is very scattered and of less value, is with the Revenue authorities which may be looked after in due course of time, by Gram Panchayat Thus the forest occupies about 25% of the whole territorial area.

The Division comprises Jabalpur, Murwara, Bargi, Sihora, Dhanwahi and Narainganj Ranges. The first-four Ranges fall in the Jabalpur Distt., and Narainganj and major portion of Dhanwahi Range falls in the Mandla District.

Except for the tract east of the Mahanadi River in the Murwara Range which is more-or-less flat, the general character of the country where the forests are situated is hilly and rugged. The principal Ranges of the hills are the Kymore, the Bhitrigarh and the Satpuras. The narrow plain along the Narmada valley is very fertile and constitutes the haveli. The elevation varies between 1155' and 2350' above the mean sea level. The Division forms a part of the great central water seed of India between the Ganga and Narmada systems.

The Division enjoys three distinct seasons, i.e., hot, rainy and cold. The average rainfall in Jabalpur Distt., is 49" that in Mandla Distt., is 66". The maximum and the minimum temperature recorded have been 117°F, and 34°F. Foresta are fairly common. The water supply is adequate

Some of the ex-private forests have been declared as protected while others are reserved. The forest are free from all adverse rights or concessions. The ex-private forests are burdened with rights and concession.

General History of the Forest—Prior to 1862, the forests were considered a free gift of nature that grew of themselves and

required no conservation. People had free access and they hacked and burnt the forest at will and shifting cultivation was practised without any hindrance. The aboriginals felled any forest area under this practice, burnt the area and grew crops and after reaping a couple of crops, shifted to practise the same method over a fresh area. They also let lose fire to burn the forests. The control of the state over the forests commenced in 1862 when cutting of teak, sal, saj, shishman and Bija was forbidden without the sanction of the Dy. Commissioner. For the cutting of these species permits were granted; but for other species, people could cut anywhere and what they wanted on payment of commutation fee? In 1862, the first step was taken towards forest conservations when the first Conservator of Forests was appointed and in 1863, operations for the supply of railway-sleepers for the construction of Jabalpur and Allahabad sections were carried out in Blocks 17, 18 and 20. In 1887, these blocks were demarcated and declared as reserved forests, heavy fellings, however continued. In 1871, the Sal forests were closed to all cutting and grazing. The forest blocks continued to be managed by the Dy. Commissioner who leased out forest areas for revenue purposes to the farmers with no restriction. These areas were notified as 'reserves' in 1879, in which year, the destructive system of shifting cultivation was also stopped.

These forests came under departmental management in 1887.

Composition and Condition of the Crops—The forests of Jabalpur Division are dry tropical forests which can be divided broadly in 2 classes:

(i) Northern tropical dry deciduous forests.

(ii) Southern tropical dry deciduous forests.

For the purpose of description, these forests can be classified into the following 3 classes:

(i) Sal forests (Northern tropical dry deciduous forests).

(ii) Teak forests (Southern tropical dry deciduous forests).

(iii) Mixed forests (Northern tropical dry deciduous forests).

Bamboo forests and Grassland are not extensive enough to be classified under a separate head. The factors which govern the distribution of the forest types are:

(i) Topography

(ii) Soil

(iii) Occurrence of forest

(iv) Biotic influences

Soil aspect and gradient are mainly responsible in affecting the quality classes. Since there is no remarkable variable in the annual rainfall in this Division, the composition of crops is uniformly influenced.

Sal forests—The distribution of the forests is confined to parts of the Murwara Range, only—where it occurs over about 20 sq. miles in 11 blocks. Here it is mainly confined to level ground and undulated country. Sal so generally a gregarious species and it is found as such in Murwara Range. But it is also found growing in mixture with other species and is often broken up to a varying extent between which its associates predominate. Its chief associates, are Saj, Tendu, Lendia, Kari, Raja, Mahuwa, Gunja, Salai, Haldu, etc. Sal is found on a variety of geological formations. The Jabalpur District is interesting in being the meeting place of several geological formations. The existence of sal which is near to its western limits in the peninsular region is determined by the porous but hygroscopic Gondwana earthy sand stone to which it is practically confined, assisted by favourable rainfall of 50" to 55". The occasional sudden transition from one quality class to another or from Sal forest to mixed forest is probably due to local time variations.

The Sal forests of the Division can be classified into local sub-types:

(i) *Low level type:* This is found usually near streams where the ground is well drained. The crop here is mainly III quality with some of II quality sal forms 80 to 90% of the crop which is dense, and trees straight and well grown.

(ii) *The high level type:* This is to be found on flat or undulating areas away from 'nalas'. The bulk is IV quality with patches of II quality Sal forming 20 to 60% of the crop which varies in density.

The remarkable feature of Sal forests of the Division is that sal regeneration is usually very good and it is spreading in the adjoining mixed forests; but, it is noticed that a large percentage of sal trees are below the average and unsound owing to the damage caused by fires in the early life of the trees.

Teak forests— In the north of Jabalpur District, Teak forest is near to the northern limit of natural Teak in India. The teak forests in this Division are confined to trap and Vindhyan Sand stone bearing areas. Teak is the main species, and it forms 20 to 80% of the crop. Bamboos generally form an under storey. The common associates of teak are Saj, Dhuora, Lendia, Bija, Haldu, Salai, Sewan, Padar, Tendu, Achar, Aonla, Kasai, Tinsa. Dhawai, Babai, Kari, etc.

Teak is found generally all over the Division, but low quality teak is to be found in Dhanwahi and Narainganj Ranges.

Mixed Forests— The remaining of the areas carry mixed type of forests over every type of geological formations found in this Division. The quality and density depend on soil factors, aspect slopes. Moist fertile sites and moderate slopes with good soil formation support a better quality forest of good density. Steep slopes exposed to South-westerly aspects and top plateau, carry a poor open forest. The crop is uneven, aged, bulk being middle aged. Common species occurring are, Saj, Dhaora, landia, Tendu, Aonla, Baranga, Tinsa, Bija, Dhawan, Kasai, Haldu, Mundi, Kari Kumbi, Semal, Sirus, Harra, Kusum, Bahera, Sewan, Mahuwa, Jamrasi, Palas, Koha, Amta, Papra etc. Bamboos are generally found in the underwood.

Common grasses are Ghonad, Kusal, Bhusbhusi, Kans, Chuuri, Babi and Khas.

Common climbers are Mahul, Palasbel, Ramdatoon, Nagbel, Amarbel, Ramna, Chilati, Ironi, etc.

Variations—

(i) Quartz—Micaschists, gravel on hill slopes supports poor open crop of salai.

(ii) Kulu—Occurs on dry rocky slopes and spurs.

(iii) Koha—is common along stream banks as also some ficus species

(iv) Khair—occurs in stunted form in open 'dadars' and on poor rocky soils. Such areas also carry ghont and ber.

(v) Palas—is found on heavy soil and in understocked areas.

(vi) Semal—is found on flat alluvial ground near river banks.

Grass lands—Large stretches of Grass lands are met with in Murwara Range.

The forests of this Division are subject to injuries from the following agencies:

Fires, Grazing, Wild animals, Wind, Torrential-rain, drought, frost, climbers, weeds Lantana,, Loranthus, Teak and other defoliators and soil erosion, etc.

Agricultural customs of population—The population of the Division is mainly agricultural. The 'Haveli' tract is densely populated. The bulk of the population of Jabalpur District is of the Aryan extraction aboriginal races to be found in the vicinity of forest areas. In the Mandla District, the bulk are aboriginal gonds who are backward and simple. Some baigas are found in part of Narainganj Range. The condition of people is generally good. Jabalpur and Murwara Range tracts are wheat producing ones and Mandla District tracts are poor and produce mainly kondon and Kutki.

When not engaged in agriculture, the poor classes supplement their income by collection and sale of minor Forest products. they and their female folk also engage themselves in 'Biri' manufacture.

This Division has got vast potentialities as regards minor Forest produce e.g., Lac, Katha, Tendu, Kulloo, Gum, Harra and Bamboos and these give a sizeable revenue. The potentiality at minerals has not yet been explored; but, when this is explored, it is hoped that the area may prove a great asset to the State.

Game Preservation—This Division is not so famous for Shikar as the adjoining Mandla Division. Neverthless, Wild Life is quite plentiful, as well as varied, and interesting. During the last few decades, there has been a steady deterioration in Wild-life. Only the remote and dense areas abound in game. The chief

varieties of wild animals and birds met with, in these forests, are Chital, Sambhar, Black Buck, Barking Deer, Four Horned Antelope, Blue Bull, Bison, Wild-pig, Tiger, Panther, Bear, Wild-dog, Hyaena and Porcupine. Pea fowl, pigeon, jungle fowl, red spur fowl, Bhat Titar, Kala Titar, Lawa, Bater and Saras are the species found among birds.

There is no game reserve in this Division. But, in the adjoining Mandala Division, a National Park for the preservation of wild animals have been established at Kanha-Kisli which swarms in wild life and where hundreds of tourists pay visits every year for sight seeing.

Kanha-Kieli is about 104 miles from the boundary of this Division and is approachable from Mandla by road. The nearest railway station is Chiraidongri about 24 miles from it. The area was formed into a sanctuary many years ago; but has recently been converted into a National Park. It covers an area of about 50 square miles and is served with fully furnished rest houses. There is a most historical tank known as Sharwan Tal. As the tale goes round, it was the place where Raja Dashrath had killed Shrawan by mistake and was cursed by his-blind parents. The area is covered with picturesque views and evergreen forest of Sal interspersed with large grassy blanks. The wild animals which are seen in large herds are Chital, Sambhar, Barasingha, and Black Buck. Other common wild animals are Tiger, Panther, Bear, Bison, Pig. Wild-dog, etc.

THE NATIONAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCE

Dr. S. C. Pandeya, M.Sc., PH.D., P.E.A. (Italy), F. B. S.,
Lecturer in Botany, Mahakoshal Mahavidyalaya, Jabalpur

A strong plea for starting an Academy of Sciences was first pleaded in an article by Late Prof. M. N. Saha in October, 1929. The Academy would cater the interests in scientific matters; would hold meetings for discussion of papers from our young scientists; publish them early and would recognize good work awarding fellowships and Medals. The idea was transpired by Sir William Malcolm Hailey (former Governor of Uttar Pradesh) in his address at the 17th session of the Indian Science Congress at Allahabad on 2nd January, 1930.

Thus, "The Academy of Science of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh"—the oldest scientific Academy in India, came into existence on December 4th. 1930, as a Registered Society. The draft constitution of the Academy, based on that of the Royal Society of England and the Asiatic Society of Bengal, was framed by late Prof. M. N. Saha, Prof. P.S. MacMohan and late Prof. K. N. Bahl. The memorandum was signed by late Prof. K. N. Bahl. The memorandum was signed by late Prof. M. N. Saha, Prof. N. R. Dhar, Prof. A. C. Banerji, late Prof. K. N. Bahal, late Prof. D. R. Bhattacharya, Prof. P.S. MacMohan and Prof. Ch. Wali Mohammed.

The first meeting of the Council of the Academy was held on 20th January, 1931 and its first ordinary meeting on 16th February, 1931. Late Prof. M.N. Saha, was the first President of the Academy during 1931-32.

In 1934, to cover larger interests of very scientific worker and to make it possible for every lover of science to join the Academy, its rules and regulations were made quite liberal and democratic. The same year the Academy was renamed as "The National Academy of Sciences, India.

Provision has been made to elect 150 fellows out of the ordinary members on the basis of their scientific eminence and the title "F. N. A. Sc." can be used by the fellows.

Till August 1953, by the courtesy of the University of Allahabad, the Academy was housed at the Science Buildings of the University. Prof. N. R. Dhar, one of the founder fellows and an ex-President of the Academy, made a gift of land to the Academy for construction of its own building in front of the Sheila Dhar Institute of Soil Science on the Lajapt Rai Road. The opening ceremony of the building was performed on 21st November, 1954.

The popularity of the Academy was indicated by the request from scientists for opening a branch of the Academy in Madhya Pradesh. The branch was inaugurated in 1954 at the Saugar University by late Mr. Ravi Shanker Shukla, the then Chief Minister of M. P. The first President of the Saugar Branch of the Academy is Prof. W. D. West, Head of the Geology Department, University of Saugar

In 1954, for the first time the National Academy of Sciences, India, Moved out of Allahabad and had its deliberations at Saugar

This Silver Jubilee Session of the Academy was held with all decorations at Lucknow in December, 1955. Prof. P. L. Srivastava, Head of the Department of Mathematics was its President. The 26th session of the Academy was held at Aligarh in January, 1957.

With its inception, the Academy issued its Journal called as "The Bulletin of the Academy of Science of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh", which was renamed as "Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences, India", in 1935. Since 1943, the Proceedings of the Academy are issued in two series, Series A for Physical Sciences and B for Biological sciences.

From a very modest beginning, the Academy has developed a big school of scientific interests round it and has grown both in size and high prestige at home and abroad. The Academy has published during its life span about 800 original research papers some of which have been highly appreciated throughout the world.

The growing prestige of the Academy has been enhanced by an award made by Late Dr. J. P. Srivastava, formerly Education Minister of Uttar Pradesh. He has placed a Gold Medal at the disposal of the Academy to be awarded annually to the author of best publications in the Proceedings of the Academy. The Medal is awarded each year by the Ministry of Education, Govt. of U.P; in rotation for published work in the following subjects; (i) Zoology, Medicine and Anthropology, (ii) Mathematics and Astronomy, (iii) Physics and Engineering, (iv) Chemistry and Technology and (v) Botany, Agriculture and Geology.

The attention of the Government of Madhya Pradesh has been much attracted by the good performance of the Academy and I am happy to mention that the Government of Madhya Pradesh has been pleased to sanction a recurring grant to the Sagar Branch of the National Academy of Sciences, India.

Today, this oldest Academy of Science in India stands to bring together all scientists and to provide them with a common meeting ground for the exchange of views, for holding symposia on subjects of common interest and for the speedy publications of their researches.

I wish the Academy an evergrowing bright future.

2

Introduction

Stretching from Bundelkhand in the north to the Madras Presidency in the south; from the Frontier of Bengal in the east to the Malwa plateau and Deccan in the west, the Central Provinces enjoyed the focal centre of the Indian Peninsula—lying between 17°, 47° and 24°, 27° North and 75°, 57° and 84°, 24° East.[1] It shape from North-West to South-East approximated to that to a rectangle, boarder at the lower than at the upper extremity. The province was bounded on the north by the Bundelkhand States of Tahri and Panna, on the west and north-west by the British districts of Lalitpur and Chanderi, belonging to the Northwestern Provinces, the state of Bhopal and Sindhia's dominions; on the south and south-west by Berar and Nizam's dominion; on the south-east by the Rajahmindry district of the Madras Presidency; on the east by the Jaypore state, and the Orissa portions of the Lower Provinces of Bengal.[2] The two fold unique geographical feature of this part of the country lies on its being shrouded under the cluster of Indian states as well as the territories within the provinces formed a compact area exhibiting all the uniform characteristics of land and their people.

The physical entity of the region can be best focussed after glympsing through its geographical divisions. To begin with, in the north-west the districts of Saugar and Damoh are included in the Vindhyan or Malwa plateau, which rises in height from the North of the Narbada river. Another division consists of the long and narrow Valley of the Narbada, sandwiched between the Malwa plateau in the north and the Setpura Hills in the south. The Satpura Hills, forming the third division, consists of the major territories of the proving appearing like a large triangle, beginning in the east from Amarkentak up to the uplands of Balaghat district in the north and towards the Chhindwara district in the south. Extending along the

southern and eastern faces of the Satpura Hills lies the fourth division—the plains of Nagpur, Chhattisgarh and Samabalpur. Its distinct feature is marked only the numerous tenks which have been constructed for irrigation and which have caused it to receive the name of the "lake-country". The entire division is full of furtile lands drained by the gurgling waters of the Wardha, Winganga and Mahanadi.

Apart from the picturesque topographic appearance of the Central Provinces, the people of the area too deserve a special mention, particularly when they had to pass throught the difficult times, controlled politically by the sundyed bureaucrats. Writing in 1862, Richard Temple records his observation thus: "quite, peaceable and patient", and further that "those classes which are barbarous, are not fierce not aggressive," He goes on to say: "The upper class of the population is fairly interspreed everywhere, but its standard of education and civilization is not high. The middle class if numerous, and all things considered tolerably educated and attended. The lower class and the mass of the population must rank low even in an Indian scale, in respect to skill, industry and intelligence; and education among them is even more rare than elsewhere in India."[3]

Further description from different angles on the same issue has been forwarded by Richard Tenkins and Major Agnew, who served the region as British administrators and came in very close contact with people. Writing in 1827, Fichard Jenkins recorded that the 'Brahmins' of the Nagpur state were mild and courteous in their manners, particularly in the presence of superiors. But they were proud and overbearing in their behaviour towards the lower class. Yet he observes that "they are great flatterers and dissemblers, and have a complete command over their tempars, which they never lose when their interests are at stake." About the conduct of lower classes, lenkins describes them as "rougher then that of the Brahmins, but more pleasing to Europeans."[4] Jenkins also gives a very depressing Account of the moral character of the people, which does not appear correct, because only after 35 years Temple held different view about them.

Major Agnew's presentation of the illuminating picture of the manners and habits of the people of Chhattisgarh is also worth mentioning. According in him: "considering the uniformed state of the people their moral character seems to be superior to that met with in most other parts of India.[5] Murders were rare and mostly occasioned by jealousy or the supposed acts of witchcraft. Petty thefts were less and more daring robberies were even less frequent. "On the whole, the people may be said to be honest, to be uneducated to great crimes and to have more regard to truth then is common in India, as an instance of which it may be mentioned that offenders very generally make an unhesitating confession of crimes they have committed."[6]

The typographical survey of the C.P. will remain incomplete if we do not turn the significant leaves of its glorious annals too. An authentic historical utterances of the Central Provinces can be traced from the ancient past. Its mention in different epigraphic numismatic sources also presents the glorious history of this region. The 'Ramayana' represents Rama as traversing the forest of Dandak, extending form the Jamuna to the Godavary on his way to the hermitage of Sutikshna at Ramtek, near Nagpur. As regards the glorious periods of Maurya and other Empires, the Central Provinces also bears testimony in the form of coins and inscriptions. The existence of one of Asoka's rock edicts at Rupnath at Jabalpur proves that his empire had once embraced this portion of the province. Inscriptions at Earn in Saugar district in the 4th and 5th centuries A. D. show that Earn and surrounding country included in the dominions of the great Gupta dynasty of Magadha. From the incriptions found in Seoni and the Ajanta Caves, it has been concluded that the Vakataka dynasty was rulingover the Satpura plateau and Nagpur from the 3rd Century A. D. The capital of this Kingdom was Bhandak Chanda district. Similarly the portions of the Nagpur and Wardha districts belonged to the old kingdom of Vidarbha, which was in existence during the 2nd century B. C. These districts then passed successively to the Andhra dynasty (113 A. D.) and the Rashtrakuts of the south (750-1087 A. D.).[7]

In the north of the province the Kalchuri or Chedi dynasty of Rajputs had their ways over the upper valley of the Narbada. Their famous capital was Tripura now stands as the village Tewar near

Jabalpur. Although the emergence of this dynasty dates back to the 3rd century A. D., not much information is available till the 9th century A. D. Form the 9th to 12th centuries A. D. Saugar and Damoh were the parts of the Chandel kingdom of Mahoba. At about the same period the fort of Asirgarh was held by the Chauhans. The Paramaras were then the over lords of Malwa, whose power extended to the western part of the Narbada valley between the 11th and 13th centuries A. D. An inscriptions found at Nagpur dated 1104-05 shows that the Paramaras king Lakshman Deva had even annexed the Nagpur plain within his dominions. In Chhattisgarh the Haihay Rajput, skin to the Chandel rulers, who established themselves at Ratanpur, and extended their authority over the greater part of the Chhattisgarh.[8]

After the 13th century there is a dark period which extends right to the rise of Gond powes in the Central Provinces in the 15th century. A. D. The earliest Gond Kingdom was that of Kherla near Betul, which first emerged in 1398, whose Raja Narsingh Rai, is stated to have taken part in the wars between Bahamani kings and those of Malwa and Khandesh. Further, in the 16th century A. D. Sangram Shah, the Gond Raja of Garha-Mandla, extended his dominion over fifty-two 'garhs' or districts, comprising of Saugar, Damoh, Narbada Valley, Mandla and Seoni. The Mandla dynasty is believed to have commenced About 664 A. D., but remained a chiefship until Sangram Shah's period. About two hundred years after Sangram Shah, Bakht Buland, the chief of Gond principality, with its headquarters at Deogarh in Chhindwara, developed his kingdom, and became an independent ruler. The Deogarh kingdom extended over the districts of Betul, Chhindwara, Nagpur and portions of Seoni, Chandara and Balaghat. In the south of the Deogarh, the town of Bhanda was the seat of another Gond dynasty, which came into prominence in the 16th century A. D. "Thus, for a certain period the simultaneous dominion of the three houses of Garha-Mandla, Deogarh and Chanda united almost the whole of Gondwana under the away of aboriginal princes."[9]

During the late medieval period, Mughal conquests penetrated the northwestern portion of the province during the reign of Sangram Shah's successor, whose widow Durgawati was defeated and killed by a Mughal general in 1964. A 'subah, was formed out

of the western part of Hoshangabad, Saugar and Damoh districts during the 16th century. and a fort and garrison were maintained at Dhamoni near Saugar. Nimar, however, did not form part of Gondwana, and was for the two earlier centuries under the Faruki Kings of Khandesh, when in 1600, Akbar's forces captured the fort of Asirgarh and annexed entire Khandesh to the Mughal empire. Lateron Berar also be came the Mughal province including Wardha and Betual districts. Thus the Mughal empire included, a strip alongwith the western border of the province, while the centre was still occupied by the gond kingdoms. And in Chhattisgarh, the old Haihaivashi dynasty remained in power.

The first invasion of Bundelkhand by the forces of the Peshwa took place in 1733, and in 1742. He advanced up to Mandla to exact the tribute of 'chouth'. From this time, the Garha-Mandla Kingdom lay at the mercy of the Marathas finally extinguishing in 1781. The fall of Deogarh and Chanda Kingdoms too took place soon after. A disputs over succession in 1739 in Deogarh led Baghuji Bhonsla to reduce the Kingdom to the position of nominal sovereignty, and between 1743 and 1751 the entire conquest of Deogarh and Chanda was Complete. Batanpur, the capital of Haihaivashis was capitulated without a blow in 1741 on the advance of the Maratha general, Bhasksi Pant Four years later, this kingdom was reduced by the deposition of the last of the Hajhaivashi Rajas. In 1750 Raghuji also acquired Cuttack in Orissa, with an assurance of 'chouth' from Bengal. Even after Raghuji's death in 1855, the Nagpur kingdom continued to expand under his successors. However the defeat of Janoji Bhonsla in 1769 at the hands of the Peshwa and Nizam, the fate of the kingdom doomed for sometime. But in 1785, when Mudhoji obtained the cession of Mandla and the upper Narbada valley from the Peshwa, the Nagpur Kingdom once again began to extend. Immediately, the acquisitions of Hoshangabad and the greater part of Saugar and Damoh followed in 1796-98.

The Nagpur Kingdom was at its senith under Rahuji II. It included the whole of the Central Provinces, Berar, Orissa and the Chotanagpur states. The revenue of these territories was about a crore rupees. Up to 1805 the Maratha administration was on the whole Successful. But after that date. due to certain factors, Raghuji II joined Sindhia against the British, and was defeated.

Consequently, by the treaty of Deogaon, Raghuji was obliged to cede Cuttack, Sambalpur and part of the Berar and agreed for the appointment of a British Resident at Nagpur.

The period from 1803 to 1818 was that of decline. On the death of Raghuji II in 1816, his son was murdered, and Appa Sahib usurped the throne. In 1817 on the outbreak of war between the British and Peshwa Appa Sahib joined the latter and attacked British troops at Nagpur. He was defeated at Sitabeldi and subsequently compelled to evacuate Nagpur. As a result of this war, the Saugar and Narbada territories were ceded to the British. Appa Sahib, though, reinstated, later on fled to the Punjab. A grandchild of Raghuji II was placed on the throne and the kingdom was brought under the British management from 1818 to 1830. Raghuji III ruled his dominions till 1853, when, after his death, they finally annexed to the British empire.

Thus ended the stormy period in the History of the Central provinces in 1853 which also played an aqually significant role during the pariod under investigation, i.e. 1858-70.

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3

Administrative Structure

British India was divided into provinces, such being controlled by its own Local Government, which obeyed the orders of the Governor-General-in-Council. The provinces were distinguished by their "Regulation" and "Non-Ragulation" systems. The Central Provinces, being a "Non-Regulation" province, had almost all the features prevailing in other such provinces, yet its administrative structure varied according to its geographical and local circumstances. During the Governor-Generalship of Lord Dalhousie new provinces like the Punjab and Oudh were formed on the "Non-Regulation" system. The system proved so successful that at later stages it became the practice to constitute all new provinces on the same principle. "The formation of Local Government for the Central Provinces in 1861 was another justification of Dalhousie's preference for chief Commissionership as the best form of provincial government in India."[1]

1. Pre-1861 Administration

The Central Provinces had in the past formed a part of the territory belonging to the Bhonsla rulers of Nagpur, whose authority extended from the Narbada Valley in the north to Berar in the south, and as far as Cuttack in Orissa in the east. Under Raghuji II (1792-1816) the Nagpur kingdom included practical the whole of the Central Provinces and Berar, besides Orissa and some of the Chhotanagpur states.[2]

As a result of the second Anglo-Maratha War in 1803, Raghuji had to cede Cuttack, Sambalpur and part of Berar. After his defeat in the third Anglo-Maratha War in 1817, Appa Sahib ceded the rest of Barar to the Nizam and the territories in the Narabada Valley to the

British.[3] In this way, the British administration was first initiated in these territories which were known as the "Saugar and Narbada Terriroties". In the rest of the Nagpur kingdom, the British administration was introduced by posting Sir Richard Jenkins as Resident and chief administrative officer from 1818 to 1830.

The greater part of the territories of the Saugar and Narbada was ceded by an agreement made by Appa Sahib in January 1818.[4] It included the districts of Jabalpur (less the Bijoragogarh 'paragana'), Mandla, Seoni, Balaghat (northern part), Narsinghpur (less the Chawarpatha and Tendukhera 'parganas'), Hoshangabad (less the Harda Hindia 'pargana'), Betal and the Dhamoni 'pargana' of Saugar. The cession of these territories was confirmed by Raghuji III in the treaty of 1826.[5]

During the same period Peshwa Baji Rao II ceded in 1817 the province of Bundelkhand, a tract which included the Saugar and Damoh districts (except some of the 'parganas' which were added later on).[6] Parts of territories in Saugar, Narsinghpur, Hoshangabad as well as the Nimar districts were obtained from Sindhia by the treaty of 1818.[7] Though the management of the rest of the territories was assumed by the British during the period of 1820-25, full sovereignty over them was established only in 1860. These included the 'parganas' of Rahatgarh, Garhakota, Gaurjhamar, and Naharmau of the Saugar district and the 'parganas' of Chawarpatha and Tendukhera of the Narsinghpur district.[8] The Hard-Hindia 'paragana' of the Hoshangabad district was made over for management in 1844 and ceded with full sovereignty in 1860.[9] The remaining parts of the territories, i.e.; the Shahgarh 'paragana' of Saugar and the Bijoragogarh 'paragana' of Jabalpur were forfeited as a result of the revolt in 1954, whereas the Mariadoh and Fatehpur 'parganas' of Damoh and the Bhera and Hirapur 'parganas' of Saugar were transferred from Bunelkhand in 1857 respectively.[10]

The Saugar and Narbada territories under the British rule were administered by different authorities at different times. the Saugar and Damoh districts were placed under the Superintendent of Political Affairs of Bundelkhand in 1818, whereas the districts of the Narbada Valley were controlled by the Resident of Nagpur. However, in 1820 these territories were merged and placed under the

charge of an Agent to the Governor-General, who was directed to base his administration "as much as possible on existing status, correcting obvious abuses, but taking care to avoid the error of pledging the faith of Government to any system not recommended by some experience, as well as by speculative expedicney."[11]

It appears that no definite principles of administration were laid down till the year 1834 and the administrative functions were carried out on the basis of expediency' i.e., they were left largely to the individual judgments of the district officers. Consequently, 'authoritative interference increased in day-to-day administration and the deterioration of the system went from bed to worse. Land taxes were over-assessed and forcibly realized, malguzars were deprived of their estates and the law and order situation was far from satisfactory.

The so called policy of expediency in administration could not last long, and in 1834 Robert Merttins Bird, Senior member of the Sadar Board of Revenue under the Government of the North-western Provinces, was entrusted to examine the administrative structure and its functioning in the Saugar and Narbada territories. Bird submitted his report with a definite observation that "under such a system which has now lasted including the period of British rule, little short of a century, there could be no incentive to improvement, and it has unfortunately happened that the mode of management, since the country passed under the British rule, has been of a nature tending to continue and inverterate the evils which we found."[12]

It was during this time that the territorial division of the presidency of Bengal was effected by a Notification is used on the 11 November 1834 according to which the northwestern portion of the said Presidency was separated. the newly formed unit was nomenclatured as the "Presidency of Agra" with its capital at Allahabad. The Saugar and Narbada territories too were merged with this newly emerged province in 1835.[13]

Under the new set up the territories were administrated by a Commissioner. assisted by Deputy Commissioners incharge of various districts. The Sadar Board of Revenue and the Sadar Adalats' supervised the revenue and judicial aspects respectively.

The administrative serenity was very soon disturbed by the Bundela rising of 1842. As a result the entire earlier administrative setting was to be reset. The Notification of the 5 June 1843 separated the Saugar and Narbada territories and Bundelkhand from the North-western Provinces thereby giving its entire administrative control to the Governor-General.[14] The over-all supervision of these territories was vested in a Commissioner and Governor-General's Agent in direct communication with the Supreme Government, while the supervision of their fiscal and judicial matters remained with the Sadar Board of Revenue and the 'Sadar Adalats' of the Northwestern Provinces.[15]

However, this arrangement did not work well as the district officers were Subject to double control. For revenue and judicial matters they were controlled by the Sadar Board of Revenue and Sadar Courts at Agra, whereas for general administration on their controlling agency was the Foreign Department of the Government of India, Another practical problem from the administrative point of view was that quite a few of the districts of the Saugar and Narbada territories were badly mixed up with the tracts of Bundelkhand, thereby eading to a lot of confusion and complexities for the administrators. Even G. A. Bushby, who was the Agent to the Governor-General realized this lacunae.[16] Lord Dalhousie too shared the same opinion and suggested that these territories should be re-transferred to the Northwestern Provinces.[17] Accordingly, by a Resolution dated the 1 December 1852 the Government of India restored the Saugar-Narbada territories to the Northwestern Provinces.[18]

The newly restored territories could have hardly completed five years that there broke out the revolt of 1857. The revolutionaries took no time in enveloping the entire region, which could be relieved after hectic efforts bv the British forces in 1858.[19] The British administrators were now convinced of the fact that these territories could not at all be controlled from Agra, and as such it was imminent for the British masters to turn again the leaves of the chapter of administrative re-arrangement. Hence, the Government General-in-Council, by a Resolution o the 4 August 1857, appointed a temporary Lieutenant-Governor with authority in the Allahabad

and Banaras Divisions and in the Saugar and Narbada territories. This officer was styled as the Lieutenant-Governor of the Central Provinces.[20] The headquarters of the new administrative unit were transferred to Allahabad and the Viceroy, Lord Canning, himself assumed the office of the Lieutenant-Governor.[21] The chief object of this temporary arrangement was to create an effective local government, which might give near control and guidance to district authorities in the Saguar and Narabada territories and maintain the line of communications in difficult times.[22]

Lord Canning himself directed the military operations against the revolutionaries. Consequently, with the capture of Delhi and the subsequent victories of the British forces in the Saugar and Jabalpur districts early in 1858, communications between Agra and Allahabad were restored. Under the new circumstances, the Governor-General-in-Council maintained the office of the Lieutenant-Governor with his headquarters at Allahabad, giving him now the designation of the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces.[23]

The Saugar and Narbada territories in their initial stages comprised of the districts of Saugar, Damoh, Jabalpur. Seoni, Mandla Hoshangabad, Narsinghpur and Betul. Later on new districts of Jalaun, Jhansi and Chander were added to it. Thus, the Commissioner's administrative jurisdiction became extensive and unwidely.[24] Therefore, the Governor-General in 1858 separated the three latter districts to form a separate Jhansi Division with an addition of Hamirpur districts. The rest of the districts remained as such under the Commissioner of Jabalpur.[25]

Even after this re-organization the Saugar and Narbada territories were continued to the sprawling under one Commissioner. The Lieutenant-Governor wanted them to be divided into two divisions, but it could not be materialized due to economic reasons.[26] This state of affairs continued till these territories were finally marged with the Central Provinces.

The history of early British rule in the Nagpur country was some what different from that of the Saugar and Narbada territories. Here, Appa Sahib was deposed in 1818 as a result of the third Anglo-

Maratha War and a grandchild of Raghuji II was placed on the throne. The actual administration was, however, entrusted in the hands of the British Resident at Nagpur, Richard Jenkins, who administratered the country from 1818 to 1830 during the minority period of the prince. Although Jenkins could not introduce any radical change in the existing system, he stressed upon the principle to introduce "maximums of regularity, economy and purity into the administration.[27]He appointed British officers as superintendents to keep control over the 'kamavisdars' of the 'parganas'. The Superintendent was equivalent to the district officer whose primary duty was to maintain law and order in his district and supervise the settlement officers.[28]

The tract containing present districts of Wardha and Nagpur was then called "Deogarh below the Ghats". It was originally distributed into no less than 130 'parganas' incharge of 60 'kamavisdars'. On instructions from the Resident, Captain Cordon, the Superintendent, reduced the number of 'parganas' to 23 of as nearly the same size as circumstances permitted under the equal number of 'kamavisdars.'[29] This was effected with a view to promote efficiency and economy in the administration.

In 1830 the administration was restored to the Raja, who ruled the country till his death in December 1853. The policy inaugurated under earlier British management was adhered to, but with great laxity and without watchfulness.[30] Maratha 'Subadars' were substituted the British Superintendents and in some cases they exercised so freely that administrative abuses became quite prominent. Citing one such example in relation to Chanda district Major Lucie Smith observed: "The offices throughout the district were filled by Brahmins and purvoes from Nagpur, many in needy circumstances, and all looking to the ministers and courtiers of the Raja for advancement and protection. Where villages seem to pay well and were held by men without interest, swarms of officials from the Soobhedar Downwards, were on the watch to get them either for themselves or relatives, or for their patrons at Nagpur."[31]

On the death of Raja Raghuji III, one of his widows adopted a young kingmen, which was valid under the Hindu law. But on 28 January, 1854 this large and Populous kingdom became a victim of

Delhousie's instrument of annexation, i.e., the "Doctrine of Lapse."[32] Thus, this annexation completed the full round of the Bhonsla kingdom. The Nagpur country consisted of the present districts of Nagpur, Wardha, Chanda, Chhindwara, Bhandara. Balaghat (the southern part), Raipur, Durg and Bilaspur with dependencies of Baster, Kanker and Karonda. The new additions to the Nagpur state were the 'talugs' on the Godawary river, which were obtained from the Nizam in 1860.[33] These territories were formed into a province administered by a Commissioner at Nagpur in direct communication with the Supreme Government.[34]

The Nagpur province was also not spared by the revolutionaries. Early in June 1857 there broke out a sepoy uprising in the city of Nagpur. Immediately extra police forces were sent there and enquiries were conducted.[35] Detachments at Hoshangabad, Betul, Narsinghpur and Seoni were also directed to fall back on Kamptee in case Holkar's army intended to move southwards.[36] However, the revolt was not a serious as in the Saugar and Narbada territories. Consequently, without any extra effort the disturbances were quietened promptly.

As soon as the Nagpur province was merged within the Central Provinces, there appeared an article in the "Friend of India", a weekly from Serampur on the 9 January 1862, under the title "A Misgoverned Province."[37] The british administration during the last eight years in the Nagpur province was acathingly criticized in that article. It was alleged that the use of Marathi was abolished in the courts; the Major Snow, the Deputy Commissioner of Nagpur, was involved in bribes through his 'amlah'; and that the city 'kotwal' of Nagpur was found guilty of corrupt practices. It went on to say: "The continued refusal of Colonel Elliot (Commissioner) to issue a Report, even after the earnest demands of his superiors, was suspicious......The conclusion......is that Colonel Elliot is a laborious trifler ignorant of the first rudiments of the art of governing and destitute of that lofty moral aim which has proved at once the guide and the success of the Lawrences and disciples, which was the secret of the triumphs of Metcalfe, Munro, Malcolm and Elphinstone, and without which an Indian governor may become a curse to the nation he represents."[38] It further observed: "We have ruled Nagpur for

eight years and there is not a school in the province. Of public work actually accomplished, there were, till the cotton cry became so loud, only three miles of the Great Deccan Road. The revenue is less than in the days of native rule, and we loss on the province, though it requires only a small military force, far more than the profit derived from it by the Bhonslas."[39]

Although Colonel Elliot sought to make it clear to the supreme Government that the allegations laid down by the newspaper were futile,[40] there seems to be some element of truth. It was no denying the fact that during the past eight years the Nagpur province made virtually no progress in various fields, which the administration should have looked into.

II. Constitution of the Central Provinces

Various factors contributed to the formation of the Central Provinces effecting the marger of the above—mentioned two separate administrative jurisdictions into one. Geographically, the Sauger and Narbada territories conjoined with the province of Nagpur, forming a compact area of about 90,000 square miles with a population of more than six million.[41] Though these territories had diversities in matters of race, language and custom, yet the characteristic features of many of the tribes and classes were their homogeneity, strong resemblance and affinity. From the communication point of view too, the districts of these territories possessed comparative facilities with each other.[42]

Politically, the earlier administration in these two separate units did not exhibit "that unity, completeness and afficiency which are requisite in order that justice may be done to the condition and prospects of territories so largely capable for improvement."[43] The administrative efficiency was always retarded because of the potent fact that the headquarters of the Supreme Government and the Nagpur province were too far away to exercise an effective control. Moreover, the Saugar and Narbada territories were frequently tossed and buffetted between the two masters, i.e. the Government of the Northwestern Provinces and the Government of India, resulting into an utter administrative negligence.[44] The proper administrative care at the hands of the two commissioners, who were directly

responsible to the Governor-General and the Lieutenant-Governor, was not being taken because of the prompt execution of any administrative action they had to seek the permission and approval of their immediate authorities. This process not only caused delay in reference and correspondence due to the distant headquarters, but also provided constant hindrance in the functioning of the administrative cycle.

Apart from these substantial administrative handicaps, the Saugar and Narbada territories were heavily jolted by the mighty native hands raised during the outbreak of 1857. The Government at Agra found it very difficult to control these southernmost parts which were undergoing the fire of revolt. The arrangements were inadequate; communications were scarce and movement of forces was almost hampered by hilly waste tracts between the headquarters and the territories. As a result the headquarters had almost entirely lost contacts with them, and the local authorities were left without any guidance, for they were beyond the reach of Agra.[45] Had not the temporary arrangement of consolidating these territories under a Lieutenant-Governor been made at that time, it would, perhaps, have been more difficult to quell down the rebellion.

Under such circumstances, it was both on administrative and political necessity to consolidate these units into one compact province. However, this idea was not new in 1861. Forty years earlier Sir John Malcolm had already pleaded for the formation of these provinces under a Lieutenant-Governor. George Canning, then at the Board of Control, said he would have at once conceded had Lord Hastings informed him of it. Now the matter had passed on from the father to son for the creation of the proconsulate.[46] Even Colonel Elliot also in a memorandum of the 18 Februar 1861 had advocated for the merger of the Saugar and Narbada districts with the Nagpur province. He was of the view that the headquarters of the new government should be at Nagpur. To quote him: "It is in the very heart of India. It forms the confines as it were of the four Presidencies (Calcutta, Madras, Bombay and Agra), from each of which it is almost equi-distant."[47]

Holding that the Saugar and Narbada territories should cease to be an adjunct of the Northwestern Provinces, and be joined with

the province of Nagpur under one Local Government, the Governor-General-in-Council on the 2 November 1861 resolved to "constitute a separate Chief Commissionership for the Nagpur province and the Saugar and Narbada Territories to be designated the Chief Commissionership of the Central Provinces, and to be administered by a Chief Commissioner and Agent to the Governor-General, under the orders of the Supreme Government."[48]

The Chief Commissioner and Agent to the Governor-General was to be assisted by a Secretary, a Judicial Commissioner, three Divisional Commissioners and a staff of a Deputy Commissioners and Extra Assistant Commissioners, who were-severally to exercise the same powers as their counterparts in the Punjab and Oudh.[49] The salaries and allowances to the various grades of officers from the Chief Commissioner downwards were as follows:[50]

		Rs.
	Chief Commissioner	56,000 per annum, (with allowances)
	Secretary	21,000 per annum
	Judicial Commissioner	38,000 per annum
3	Commissioners each	33,000 per annum
4	Deputy Commissioners 1st class	18,000 per annum
4	Deputy Commissioners 2rd class	14,400 per annum
4	Deputy Commissioners 3rd class	12,000 per annum
4	Deputy Commissioners 4th class	8,400 per annum
6	Assistant Commissioners	7,200 per annum
8	Assistant Commissioners	4,800 per annum
3	Extra Assistant Commissioners	6,000 per annum
4	Extra Assistant Commissioners	4,800 per annum
5	Extra Assistant Commissioners	3,600 per annum
6	Extra Assistant Commissioners	3,000 per annum

The Chief Commissioner had the power of general superindence over all the departments of administration under his disposal. His authority was, of course, subject to the approval of the Supreme Government. The Judicial Commissioner was the highest tribunal in the province in both civil and criminal jurisdictions. Each Divisional Commissioner exercised the powers of Civil and Sessions Judge in the judicial, and of A Commissioner of a division in the revenue department. In the districts the Deputy Commissioner and his Assistants likewise combined in their office all the judicial, fiscal and magisterial functions.[50]

In this way the constitution of the Central Provinces was effected as a local government, which, according to Professor B. B. Misra, could fructify on purely political grounds. To quote him, "the preponderating consideration was political, the unsettled state of the provinces involving serious questions of law and order".[51] In the revised administrative set up the Chief Commissioner, though very much dependent on the Governor-General, was considered" a more pliable instrument to execute his policy than a Lieutenant-Governor, much less a Governor, who might exhibit an independence by virtue of his statutory position."[52]

Immediately after the passing of the Resolution, the Government of India directed the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces to handover the administration of the Saugar and Narbada districts to the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces.[53] Accordingly, these district were transferred by the end of 1861.[54] The Government of India also sought approval of the Secretary of State for India to the meassure of constituting new province.[55]

The Central Provinces originally comprised of eight districts of the Saugar and Narbada territories, viz: Saugar, Damoh, Jabalpur. Mandla, Seoni, Betul, Narsinghpur and Hoshangabad, and six districts of the Nagpur Province, viz; Nagpur, Chanda, Bhandara, Chhindwara, Raipur (Chhattisgarh) and Sironcha (Upper Godavary) with dependencies of Bastar and Karonda. These districts were immediately re-organized into three divisions, each under a Commissioner as follows:[56]

Divisions	*Districts*
Nagpur Division	1. Nagpur with Kotah
Headquarters-Sitabaldi	2. Raipur with Bilaspur
	3. Chanda
	4. Bhandara
Jabalpur Division	1. Jabalpur with Seoni
Headquarters-Jabalpur	2. Mandla
	3. Narsinghpur
	4. Chhindwara
Saugar Division	1. Saugar
	2. Damoh
Headquarters-Saugar	3. Hoshangabad with Betul

The 'taluqs' of the Upper Godavary district with Bastar and Karonda were, however, left under the direct supervision of the Chief Commissioner, with a Deputy Commissioner incharge of them.[57]

With the transfer of Sambalpur district from Bengal to the Central Provinces in April 1862[58] the desirability of re-organization of the Nagpur Division was raised on the surface. It was proposed in the Joint Report on the Finances of the Central Provinces by Colonel Elliot and Richard Temple[59] that a separate division should be organized consisting of the district of Raipur, Bilaspur, Sambalpur and part of Mandla. Since Sambalpur being at a distance of 300 miles and Raipur 200 miles from Nagpur, it was really difficult for the Commissioner at Nagpur to control these far off districts. I was, therefore, proposed to place these district under a Commissioner at Raipur.[60] For the district of Mandla, Richard Temple was of the view that it should be left undisturbed, and as such should no be added to the proposed division.[61] Thus, though a new division called as the Chhattisgarh Division with its headquarters at Raipur was formed in June 1862, yet the issue of Mandla was taken up seriously by the Government of India, and the proposer was to furnish an explanation

for that Richard Temple defended his stand by stressing on the point that[62] there were prospects of being extended cultivation into waste lands of Mandla by some of the industrious tribes of adjoining Seoni district; and that the settlement of Mandla could best be effected by the Deputy Commissioner of Seioni.[63]

At the same time, for reasons of efficiency in administration it was proposed that the independent status of the districts of Betul and Seoni should be acknowledged which were than the dependencies of the district of Hoshangabad and Chhindwara respectively.[64] Another important issue of the same nature was that of Kotah and Bilaspur, dependencies of Nagpur and Raipur respectively. Temple's suggestion was to dissociate both of them and give them the status of independent districts.[65] These suggestions were ultimately carried out in December 1862.[66]

Another administrative problem came up during 1863 concerning the re-arrangement and re-setting of suitable administrative focal point for the control of Saugar and Jabalpur Divisions. Till then the sprawling nature of the districts under the two divisions, which were pretty unwidely, had been managed from far off divisional headquarters. For instance, the Commissioner of Saugar had his jurisdiction up to Hoshangabad and Betul districts, and the Commissioner of Jabalpur up to Hoshangabad aud Betul districts, and the Commissioner of Jabalpur up to Chhindwara, which were at such an disadvantageous distance that it was often difficult for Commissioners to keep effective control over them.[67] The matter was immediately taken up and the Chief Commissioner proposed that the districts for the Saugar and Jabalpur Divisions should be re-distributed into Northern and Southern Narbada Divisions.[68] The Government of India, on grounds of expediency and administrative efficiency agreed to the proposed re-distribution, but the matter could not immediately be given a practical shape because it required preliminary arrangements before the final execution.[69]

In the meantime the question whether the district of Nimar should be marged with Bombay or the Central Provinces came up with arguments in favour of the both alternatives, though latter on

the latter was favoured with the inclusion of that district in May 1964.[70] While sanctioning the marger of Nimar the Government of India re-opened the case of final re-settlement of the Saugar and Jabalpur Divisions, and it was decided that the headquarters of the new divisions should be at Jabalpur and Hoshangabad.[71] Thus the final appearance of the Jabalpur Division was made up consisting the districts of Jabalpur, Saugar, Damoh, Seoni and Mandla, whereas the Narbada Division was comprised of Hoshangabad, Chhindwara, Narsinghpur, Betul and Nimar districts.[72] In May 1865, the small chiefship of Bijoragoarh, confiscated in 1858 on account of the rebellion of its 'Raja', was transferred to the Central Provinces. It was converted into a 'tahsil' of the Jabalpur district.[73]

The creation of the district of Balaghat carries a long story of official discussion. Richard Temple took keen interest in pressing for the emergence of this district with a view to promote agriculture, communication and general condition of these hither to neglected tracts.[74] The Government of Indian agreed to the demand and sanctioned the creation of a new district on a provisional and experimental basis for two years.[75] Accordingly, in February 1867, the new district came into being consisting of the portions of Mandla, Seoni and Bhandara districts.

The district made considerable progress during the period of two years. Communications with the lowland districts were improved by constructing five hill passes at the expense of Rs. 25,000. On the receipt side, the land revenue was increased up to Rs. 67,987; the forest revenue was doubled, excise revenue trebled and the stamp revenue quardrupled during the provisional period. The total amount of these taxes rose from Rs. 18,634 in 1866-67 to Rs. 50,775 in 1868-69, and had every prospects of future increase.[76] This progress convinced the Chief Commissioner so much so that he not only advocated for the permanent retention of the Balaghat district, but also want for its extension.[77] He also made it clear that the retention of the new district would not incur heavy expenses, as it had already exhibited its potentiality of exclusive material progress.[78] Ultimately, considering the bright prospects of the district, the Governor General-in-Council, in 1870, gave his approval by sanctioning permanent creation of the Balaghat district.[79]

Thus, the constitution of the Central Provinces initiated originally with 14 districts in 1861 swelled to a substential number of 19 in 1870, as is clear from the following:—

Division	*District*
1. Nagpur Division	1. Nagpur 2. Wardha 3.Chanda
	4. Bhandara 5. Balaghat
2. Jabalpur Division	6. Jabalpur 7. Seoni. 8. Mandla
	9. Saugar 10. Damoh
3. Narbada Division	11. Hoshangabad 12. Narsinghpur
	13. Nimar 14. Betul
4. Chhattisgarh Division	16. Raipur 17. Bilaspur
	18. Sambalpur. 19. Upper Godawary

The districts varied considerably in size and population. The average area was 4,430 square miles. Raipur alone had an area of 12,036 square miles, the largest in the province, while Narsinghpur had an area of only 1,916 square miles, the smallest in the province.[80]

III. Administrative Organization

Alongwith the process of formation and consolidation of the Central Provinces, there also kept on developing the structure of administrative organization. The two important aspects of the administrative structure during this period were the organization of various administrative department and the nature of duties and status of administrative officials.

As regards the first aspect, the immediate task of the Chief Commissioner was to place various departments on regular footing and organize new ones, whenever necessary. As he was responsible to the Governor-General for effective functioning of administrative machinery under him, and all activities of the various departments were reported through him ostensibly put every effort and energy to give a proper shape to the departmental functioning. In this connection the Resolution of the 2 November 1861 is an important document. According to it, apart from the appointment of a Judicial

Commissioner, provision was also made for the appointment of "other Inspecting of Directing Officers for the several departments, such as Director of Public Instruction; an Inspector of Jails and the like."[81] Briefly, the following was the structure of departmental organization of the Central Provinces.

1. General Department—It was directly under the Chief Commissioner and was the main organ for the functioning of the general civil administration. All supervisor officers of other departments received their instructions from this department, and submitted communications various aspects under their respective control. Every department submitted its annual report to the Chief Commissioner for review. Thereafter the general report of annual administration, prepared in this department, was submitted to the Supreme Government. The manner in which annual administration reports were to be submitted was from time to time prescribed by the Government of India.[82]

This department was headed by the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, assisted by an Assistant Secretary, Superintendent and a number of Ministerial officials.

2. Revenue Department—It was also under the direct supervision of the Chief Commissioner, who was entrusted with the powers of the Board of Revenue under the Act X of 1859, amended by the Act XIV of 1863.[83] Under him the Commissioners, Deputy Commissioners, Assistant and Extra Assistant Commissioners and 'Tahsildars' exercised the powers of Commissioner, Collector and Deputy Collectors respectively.[84] Besides land revenue, the department looked after the administration of other miscellaneous revenues including forest although the management of forests was carried out by a separate agency.

The department was primarily responsible for assessing various taxes and foster up their proper collection. Yearly returns were submitted by the Commissioners to the Chief Commissioner, who, after a review, suggested for better enforcement of various methods.

3. Settlement Department—It was organized to look after the land revenue settlement of the sixties. Commissioners. Deputy Commissioners, and Assistant and Extra Assistant Commissioners

functioned under the instruction of this department as Settlement Commissioners and Settlement Officers. In some districts separate Settlement Officers were appointed to assist the Deputy Commissioners. The department conducted various settlement operations such as survey and demarcation of village boundaries, investigation into various proprietary rights and their recognition, assessment of land revenue and compilation of various date including record of rights.

Previously the department was under the direct control of the Chief Commissioner. Later on a special Commissioner to supervise and guide the working of the department was appointed by the Supreme Government.[85] Accordingly, John Moris assumed the charge of the Settlement Commissioner in August 1863,[86] and continued to serve till his appointment as Chief Commissioner in April 1868.

4. Judicial Department—It was under the charge of a Judicial Commissioner, who was entrusted with the powers of a High Court or 'Sadar' court, in both civil and criminal jurisdictions under the Act X of 1859. As the highest criminal court of appeal in the province, he could even a inflict capital punishment without reference to the Chief Commissioner. Below him the Divisional Commissioners, Deputy Commissioners and their subordinate officers functioned as civil and criminal judicatures within their respective jurisdictions.

The Judicial Commissioner was responsible to the Chief Commissioner, to whom he submitted yearly returns of the working of his department. He was also responsible primarily of the establishment of law and regulations for all the courts; for the guidance of police force and for the dispensation of substantial Justice.

5. Financial Department—It was being superintended by the Deputy Accountant General, under the direct orders of the Financial Department of the Government of India. However, in March 1867, John Morris attempted in vain for the appointment of a Financial Commissioner.[89] His successor, George Campbell re-opened the question with a suggestion that the duties of the Financial Commissioner should be entrusted to the Judicial Commissioner.

who would "perform the general duties of Supervision in both the Departments in subordination to the Chief Commissioner."[90] John Morris did not agree with the scheme on the ground that it would interfere with the recognized principles on which "the mutual relations of these departments are regulated."[91] He proposed in October 1868 that the Chief Commissioner was to be allowed the services of a Personal Assistant, who would assist him in purely financial matters. This proposal was met with the approval of the Government of India in November of that year.[92]

6. Education Department—It was headed by a Director of public Instruction,[93] whose principal duty was to superintend the functioning of various educational institution in the province. This included the establishment of primary and secondary schools and English schools, wherever necessary, administration of the school cess, establishment and management of the book depots and recommendation for grants-in-aid to the schools established by private societies. The Director had to submit an annual report of the Chief Commissioner's review. He was assisted by three Inspectors of schools, each for the northern, southern and eastern circles.[94]

7. Police Department:—An Inspector-General of Police was incharge of this department, assisted by two Deputy Inspectors-General and District Superintendents and Assistant District Superintendents. The duty of the department was to organize the scheme of "new constabulary" recommended by the Police Commission of India,[95] besides maintaining law and order in the provinces, detacting the criminals and apprehending them before the courts of law. The Inspector General also submitted annual report of the various activities of his department to the Chief Commissioner's review.

8. Jail Department—The Inspector of Jails and Dispensaries supervised this department. His functions were to ensure a regular and uniform supervision of jail management in order to attain the objects of proper jail buildings, proper distribution of prisoners in jails, proper discipline among the prisoners, good health during their imprisonment and economy in the department.[96] The Inspector of jails was also to undertake periodical inspection of jails at least once a year and submit yearly returns to the Chief Commissioner for review.

9. Medical Department—It was also superintended by the Inspector of Jails and Dispensaries, who was to supervise the functioning of various dispensaries in the province, and control the medical officers incharge of jails.

10. Public Work Department—The Chief Engineer acted as Secretary to the Chief Commissioner in the Public Works Department. The Superintending Engineers worked under him and one of these was specially deputed on the Godavary Navigation Project.[97] The department had been of vital importance as the responsibility of opening the interiors of the province by means of communications solely rested upon it. The constructions of roads, public buildings, and maintenance and repair of old once was its primary function.

11. Forest Department—It was under a Conservator of Forests, besides a number of forest officers. They were to look after the maintenance and management of forests, and to endeavour to get better markets for the forest products.

12. Registration Department—The Judge of the Small Cause Court at Nagpur was generally discharging the duties of the Registrar-General of Assurances.[98] Registration of deeds was the only function of this department.

Besides these departments, there were two officers designated at Cotton Commissioner and Sanitary Commissioner. The former office, being created in 1867,[99] was entrusted with the duties of preservation and encouragement of cotton produced in the southern part of the provinces, while the latter office came into existence in 1869 with the object of constituting enquiries into all sanitary matters and for the supervision of Vaccine operations.[100]

With reference to the second aspect, viz., the nature of duties and status of administrative officials, attention was always paid to maintain an equilibrium in the heirarchy of administrative officials. The Central Provinces Commission consisted of both convenanted and uncovenanted officers. In the former category, only English officers were included, who were given various authoritative offices right from the Assistant Commissioners to the Chief Commissioner, while in the latter category there were the officers of the grade of

Extra Assistant Commissioner and below, including both European and Indian elements.

As a result of the formation of the new province, a number of appointments were made by the Government of India in January 1862. These included three Commissioners for Jabalpur, Nagpur and Saugar Divisions, besides four Deputy Commissioners each of 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th class, thirteen Assistant Commissioners, five officiating Assistant Commissioners and eighteen Extra Assistant Commissioners.[101] After the constitution of the fourth division in June 1862, viz., the Chhattisgarh Division, an officer was deputed there to take over the charge of the new division.[102] It is to be pointed out that the status of the Commissioner of the Chhattisgarh Division was far below than the rest of the Commissioners in respect of salary. He received Rs. 2,000 per month, whereas the other Commissioners' salary was Rs. 2,750 each. However, a sum of Rs. 250 per month on account of travelling allowance was sanctioned to the Commissioner of Chhattisgarh, thus, raising his salary to Rs. 2,250.[103] The Commissioner, in 1864, petitioned to the Government to put him on the equal status with other Commissioners.[104] Though the petition was rejected for the time being, after two years the salary of the Commissioner of Chhattisgarh was raised to Rs. 28,000 per year,[105] still below the salaries of the other Commissioners.

An anomaly also existed in the status of Deputy Commissioners. Due to the temporary absence of any 1st, 2nd or 3rd class Deputy Commissioner on account of furlough, his place was usually filled in by a Deput Commissioner of 4th class, and in his place an Assistant Commissioner was appointed. Thus, to supply one temporary, two moves were made. These transfers were sometimes "inconvenient and detrimental to the interest of the public service."[106] The 4th class Deputy Commissioners received a salary of Rs. 700 per month, an equivalent to the salary of an Assistant Commissioner of 1st class, whereas the Deputy Commissioner of 4th class always retained independent charges of various districts. This lower status not only created dissatisfaction among them but also caused harm to their public duties. Therefore, the 4th class of Deputy Commissioners was abolished, and the were raised to the status of 3rd class with a salary of Rs, 1,000 per

month.[107]

Even the upgradation of 4th class Deputy Commissioner did not solve the problem of administrative efficiency. It usually happened that some of the European covenanted officers were on leave either for short or for long period, and the Chief Commissioner had to make necessary transfer at every occasion. Thus, the officers of the lower grade were always obliged to officiate the higher posts, which automatically hampered the smooth functioning of administrative machinery. To overcome the difficulty the Supreme Government in March 1865 sanctioned four extra posts of the Assistant Commissioners of 4th class.[108]

Still, there remained certain inconsistencies regarding the status and scale of the covenanted officers. First, there were larger numbers of the Deputy Commissioners of 3rd class, whereas the number of 1st or 2nd class districts was twelve. Unless the proportion of 1st or 2nd class Deputy Commissioners was increased, it would be difficult for the Government to retain or obtain experienced and trained officers for the purpose of administration.[109] Second, there was a big gap between the highest grade of Assistant Commissioners and the lowest rank of Deputy Commissioners. The former draw a salary of Rs. 600 only where a the latter received Rs. 1,000. If there would have been a class of Rs. 700 Assistant Commissioner, it might ease the process of promotion from Assistant Commissioner to Deput Commissioner.[110] Richard Temple, in March 1865, proposed that the number of Deputy Commissioners of 1st, 2nd and 3rd class should be six, six and seven instead of five, four and nine respectively. He further asked for at least three Assistant Commissioners to be placed at Rs. 700 class.[111]

The Government of India gave a serious thought to the existing anomalies in the administration created due to unestablished principles regarding the nature of duties and status of the covenanted officers. Therefore, it was decided to re-model the civil services of all the "Non-Regulation" Provinces with a view to bring them at par with their "Regulation" Provinces with a view to bring them at par with their "Regulation" counterparts. In April 1865, the Governor-General-in-Council had already recommended a new scheme for the revision of scales in the Punjab and Oudh Commissions, which was approved by the Home Government in February 1866.[112] On the

same Principles, it was now recommended in February 1866 that in the General Provinces too the deputy Commissioners and Assistant Commissioners should be given the revised grades. Accordingly, it was suggested that four Deputy Commissioners were to receive Rs. 22,000 each, four Rs. 20,000 each, four Rs. 16,000 each and six Rs. 12,000 each annually. Of the Assistant Commissioners, five were to receive Rs. 8,400 each five Rs. 7,200 each and six Rs. 6,000 each annually. The salary of the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner was also proposed to be enhanced from Rs. 24,000 to Rs. 28,000 per year.[113] The Secretary of State for India immediately approved the revision of salaries in the Central Provinces Commission.[114] Thereupon the Chief Commissioners made necessary arrangements to place his officers according to the grades finally approved by the Home Government.[115]

On the uncovenanted side of the civil service, the 'tahsildar' was the key officer in the administrative hierarchy. In addition to his duties as sub-collector of revenue, he exercised Judicial powers in criminal and civil matters within the limit of his subdivisional jurisdiction. He also performed general administrative duties as well as management of distillaries, assessment and collection of 'pandhari' tax and licence tax, besides discharging duties as Sub-Registrar of Assurances under Act XX of 1866. In comparison to the vast canvas of his functions, the 'tahsildar' received a very poor scale. In May 1867, the Chief Commissioner advocated an enhancement in the salaries of officers of this grade, which was accepted by the Government of India.[117]

One of the characteristics of the administrative hierarchy in British India was the admission of military officers in the civil administration. Without doubt Several of these men achieved distinction in discharging their administrative duties with hardwork and forbearance, and brought laurels in the material and moral progress of the country. However, opinions were in favour of raising the proportion of convenanted civilians in the field of administration. In October 1866, the Government of India forwarded a scheme to the Home Government of thereby seeking their approval to raise the proportion of civilians from one-half to two-thirds in the punjab, Oudh and the Central Province.[118] Despite

the objection of Colonel H. M. Durand, Member of the Council, the scheme was put into operation.[119]

On the whole, the administrative structure of the Central Provinces during the first decade of its formation presents two important aspects—efficiency and economy. It was the foremost object of the administrators to improve administrative machinery so as to consolidate the province under a strong local government. Efficiency was, as had been often claimed, the very backbone of sound British administration. The formation of the Central Provinces reveals the long-felt desire of efficiency, which was hitherto neglected during the early British administration of two distinct units of the Saugar and Narbada territories and the Nagpur province. The plan with which the provinces were consolidated and administrative organization was carried out clearly shows the expediency of this objective.

Economy had also its base in the ideology of administration. The amalagamation of various scattered tracts into one local government achieved a total saving of more than Rs. 2.75 lakh. Although the administrative organization and time to time changes in the status of administrative officials always resulted into an increase in the expenditure, yet with the increasing means of revenue all these expenses could very easily be met within the stipulated amount.

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58. During the revolt of 1857-58 the district was seriously disturbed under the leadership of Surendra Sahi, a pretender to the Sambalpur throne. The district was beyond the control of the far off headquarters at Calcutta. Hence. It was deemed expedient to transfer it to the administration of the Central Provinces; vide Foreign Dept., Gen. A Progs. April 1862, Nos. 67-68.
59. Foreign Dept., Fin. A Pros. April 1862, Nos. 24-28.
60. Foreign Dept., Gen. A Progs. June 1862, Nos. 26-28.
61. Ibid.
62. Ibid.
63. Foreign Dept., Gen. A Progs. Oct. 1862, Nos. 26-28.
64. Ibid.

65. It was proposed that the Kotah district should be known as 'Wardha' This chage was specially notified by the Government of India; vide Foreign Dept., Gen. a Progs. Dec. 1862; Nos. 37-42.
66. Vide Ibid.
67. Foreign Dept., Gen. A Progs. Dec. 1863, Nos. 46-50.
68. The re-distribution was to be as follows:— Northern Narbada Division— Saugar, Damoh, Jabalpur and Mandla. Southern Narbada Division— Narsinghpur, Hoshangabad, Seoni, Chhindwara and Betul; vide, Ibid.
69. Ibid.
70. Foreign Dept. Pol. A Progs. March 1864, Nos. 52-60; also Foreign Dept. Gen. A Progs. May 1864, Nos. 50-53.
71. Foreign Dept. Gen. A Progs. May 1864. Nos. 50-53.
72. Notification No. 1047 dated 31st Aug. 1864; vide Foreign Dept., Gen. A Progs. Aug. 1865, Nos. 12-13.
73. Adm. Report C. P. for 1865-66. p. 43.
74. Foreign Dept., Gen. A Progs. March 1866, Nos. 28-32.
75. Ibid.
76. Foreign Dept., Gen. A Progs. Dec. 1869, Nos. 82-87.
77. Ibid.
78. Foreign Dept., Gen. A Progs. March 1870, Nos. 31-32.
79. Foreign Dept., Gen. A Progs. Aug. 1870, Nos. 23-28.
80. Adm. Report C.P. for 1870-71; p. 18.
81. Foreign Dept., Pol. A Progs. Nov. 1891, No. 48.
82. Home Dept., Pub. progs. 1st May 1861, No. 3 (A); also Home Dept., pub. progs. 25th Nov. 1862, Nos. 182-183 (A) also Home Dept., pub. progs. 8th June 1863, Nos. 43-45 (B) also Home Dept., pub. progs, 7th Sept. 1864, Nos. 20-21 (B)
83. Foreign Dept. Judl. A Const. March 1864, Nos. 1-5.
84. Ibid.
85. Foreign Dept., Rev. A Progs. July 1863, Nos. 17-18.
86. Ibid., Aug. 1863, Nos. 4-5.
87. Foreign Dept., Judl. A Progs. March 1864, Nos. 1-5.
88. Ibid., 1863, Nos. 28-31.
89. Foreign Dept., Gen. A Progs. April 1867, Nos. 12-18.
90. Ibid., Dept. 1867, Nos. 63-65.
91. Ibid., Dec. 1868, Nos. 22-23.

92. Resolution No. 3632 dated 26th Nov. 1968; vide Ibid.
93. Home Dept. Edu. B Progs. 11th April 1862, Nos. 5-6.
94. Ibid., A Progs 22nd Dec. 1963, Nos. 5-11.
95. Home Dept., Judl. A Progs. 3rd Oct. 1860, Nos. 34-36.
96. Ibid., 7th March 1865; Nos. 33-35.
97. Adm. Reporrt C. B. for 1862-63; p. 65.
98. Accompaniment to the Adm Report C. P. for 1870-71; p. 2.
99. Adm. Report C. P. for 1866-67; p. 96.
100. Ibid., 1868-69; p. 96.
101. Foreign Dept., Gen. B Progs. Jan. 1862, Nos. 69-77:o also Foreign Dept., Gen B Progs. Jan. 1862, No. 106.
102. Foreign Dept., Gen. A Progs. June 1862, Nos. 26-28.
103. Ibid., Oct. 1863, No. 25.
104. Foreign Dept., Gen. A Const March 1864, Nos. 114-115.
105. Ibid., Aug. 1866, Nos. 59-60.
106. Ibid., March 1864, Nos. 64-65.
107. Ibid.
108. Foreign Dept., Gen A Progss March. 1865 Nos. 62-67.
109. Foreig Dept., Gen. A Progs Jan. Nos. 19-23.
110. Ibid.
111. Ibid.
112. The formulate under the scheme was:

Post	*Existing Scales*		*Proposed Scales*	
	Monthly	Yearly	Monthly	Yearly
Dy. Commissioner	1,500	18,000	1,833	22,000
	1,200	14,400	1,666	20,000
	—	—	1,500	18,000
	1,000	12,000	1,333	16,000
	—	—	1,200	14,400
	—	—	1,000	12,000
Asstt. Commissioner	—	—	800	9,600
	600	7,200	700	8,400
	500	6,000	600	7,200
	—	—	500	6,000

vide Foreign Dept., Gen. A Const. April 1866, Nos. 30-31.

113. Foreign Dept., Gen. A Const. Aug. 1866, Nos. 59-60.
114. Despatch No. 143 dated 25th June 1866; vide, Ibid.
115. Foreign Dept., Gen. A Const. Sept. 1866, No. 30.
116. Home Dept., Judl. A Progs. Aug. 1867, No. 21.
117. Resolution No. 3179 dated 8th Aug. 1867: vide Ibid., No. 29.
118. Despatch No. 79 dated 27th Oct. 1866; vide Home Dept., Pub. Const. Dec. 1866, Nos. 20-21.
119. Sce Minute by Col. H. M. durand 29th Nov. 1866 and proceedings thereon, vide, Ibid.
120. Foreign Dept., Gen. a Progs. July 1862. Nos. 104-05.

4

Land Revenue System

Since time immemorial India has been predominantly an agricultural country, and land has always been a major revenue contibutor. The very history of land revenue administration in India, therefore, forms an interesting and revealing study if the regional revenue surveys are thoroughly probed into.

During ancient time the states income from the land revenue was not substantial. It showed progress only when the duties of state marked a rising trend. Stressing on this point the early law-givers too were of the opinion that "cultivators must pay to the king a tax (amounting to) one-tenth, one-eighth or one-sixth (of the produce)."[1] The land revenue finds a prominent place in Kautilya's 'Arthasastra', where it is recommended that it should be one-sixth of the total land produce.[2]

It is revealing to record that the system of paying the land revenue in kind was substituted by money in the course of time. There were two main features of the new system. In the first place, the revenue was very easily collected, and both the rulers and cultivators received their share according to successes or failures of the harvest.[3] Further, the mode of collection was reasonable and simple. All sorts of arbitrary exactions on the part of the rulers were prohibited. Emphasizing the significance of this vital part of the administrative structure, Kalidass opined that "just as the Sun takes moistures from the earth to give it back a thousandfold, so the King gathers taxes from the people only to provide for their welfare."[4]

The system of land revenue underwent a considerable change during the medieval period, when in needed no pleading and as such it was more spontaneous on the part of the cultivators. Sher Shah

Suri was the pioneer in this field. In his revised set up the land was classified according to its merits, and its assessment was made on the basis of the gross produce of past ten years. For the first time the principle of survey and field to field measurement was introduced. It laid the foundation of a system which furnished the basis for the future land revenue policy.[5]

Raja Todar Mal, Akbar's Diwan', accepted the basic features of Sher Shah's system, and evolved it into a well-knit system. Under his able guidance all the cultivated land of the Empire was measured by a uniform standard. The land was classified according of the nature of soil and situation. The assessment was made on every 'bigha' of land, fixing the state's share at one-third of the gross produce. The revenue was to be collected mainly in cash. The rates were fixed by calculating the price of grain on an average of the past nineteen years.[6] This settlement was introduced in the year 1571 A.D. for an interim period of ten years.

The revenue administration under the Mughals provided a complete set of regular records, revenue accounts, and fixed the official charges of collection. It also substituted the old customary usages of the Hindu administration by giving new terms and phrases to various aspects of land revenue. 'But in all essentials the Mughal revenue administration was simply the older plan in a new form."[7]

However, this was the first regular settlement in which the state was guaranteed a fixed amount of revenue from the land. The peasantry was aware of the exact amount of their liability to the state, and they could very easily adopt such courses like irrigation, so that they could be benefitted.[8] The revenue officials of the Government were either paid fixed salary or revenue-free grants. This lessened the worry of cultivators form all illegal exactions at the hands of these officials. Efforts were also made by the state to promote irrigational facilities in order to encourage better cultivation. It proved to be beneficial both for the state as well as the peasantry.

The policy of fixing uniform rates of land revenue unfortunately was not followed by Akbar's successors. During the times of Jahangir and Shahjehan, the state's share over the gross

produce was enhanced, besides levying some other exactions. This encouraged the government officers to collect illegal assets from the cultivators.[9] Moreover, Akbar's land revenue system was only confined to the northern parts of India.

This system prevailed for about a century. As soon as the Mughal central structure recorded a decline, the provincial rulers and their subordinate chiefs imposed a number of other taxes alongwith the land revenue. In majority of the cases, the revenue authorities grabbed lands and styled themselves as 'zamindars'.

In the Central Provinces Marathas took up the reins of administration after the exit of the Mughals. Their sway over this part of India lasted a little over two generations. The Marathas effected the revenue of the province is two distinct ways. In some areas they were mere plunderers, extorting revenue with savage cruelty, and leaving heir heritage in the form of abandoned lands and depopulated villages. But in the areas where their grip was somewhat stronger they accepted the original rates fixed by their predecessors as the 'sin', and later on levelled them up to what they called the 'kamel' or perfect assessment.[10]

The earlier form of the system adopted by the Marathas, enveloped the "Saugar and Nerbudda Territories." In these areas the interests of different Maratha chiefs during the first two decades of the 19th century invariably coincided along with regular incursions and ravages of the Pindaris. Consequently, the local rulers were compelled to entertain large bodies of troops, and "the disbursements were thus necessarily increased, the desolation and desertion of villages in all exposed situations diminished the public resources." [11]

Under the existing system of land revenue, the tracrs were auctioned to the highest bidder which had ultimately resulted in smashing all the rights that the 'patels' enjoyed.[12] The policy was to keep as many villages as possible under the 'Khalsa' management, collecting the revenue directly from the cultivators. Leases were, however, frequently given for short-terms and a very small margin of profit was left to the lesseen. Quite often "the demand exceeded the estimated assets of the villages."[13]

The amount assessment was so heavy and taxing that where extortion by main force failed, 'patels' were tempted by titles and dresses of honour to bid against each other. Thus, they were alternately "coaxed and squeezed till they had nothing left to make them worth attention."[14] Then the 'Amil' concluded his yearly settlement it was not binding upon him to lease any village with the same man with whom he had given it last year. Under such circumstances, the position of 'patel' was neither stable nor bearing any kind of legal right of renewal.[15] The reason was that other speculators were heading on to obtain leases, who agreed to any condition in the hope of securing of footing in the village.

When the office of the 'patel' had reached to such a miserable state, position of the 'ryots' obviously was to attain a precarious point. Even no evidence of the proprietary rights of the 'ryots' can be traced out. In fact, there was no distinction between a new and an old 'ryot'. Anyone was entitled to hold the land till some one outbid him, and "outbidding was the only recognized ground for ouster."[16] In some cases, of course, more substantial tenants could hold the lands from year to year and from father to son so long as the rent demanded was paid. But no right of holding on certain terms independent of the will of the 'patel' could be witnessed to have accrued from such continuous possession.[17] "This", writes Fuller, 'could only have been possible under a system of rack-renting pure and simple, under which any rights which stood in the way of the state exchequer were swept aside."[18]

The story of Nimer is, however, somewhat different from that of the Saugar and Narbada territories. This part of the Province had been under the Deccan Muhammedan rule, during which period the system was that of 'tankhabandi."[19] It was a fixed assessment at area rates, representing one-third of the produce valued in money. The cultivators were not to pay any extra cess upon their holdings. Although no recognized rights of the cultivators existed, they seem to have a favourable edge over the earlier ones. Some of the privileged cultivators with a long standing were called 'joonadars'. Even the villagers used to elect "the most acceptable person to the community" from amongst themselves, who was called the 'patel', and was responsible for collection of land revenue of his village.[20]

He enjoyed some rent-free land and a limited percentage on land-revenue. In short, the system was purely 'ryotwari."[21]

The marathas, during their short possession of the district, did not alter the system, except levyings 'sardeshmukhi'. Other additional cesses under the name of 'patti' followed soon after. The 'kamavisder', who was usually putting up at a long distance from the headquarters of the Peshwa, had every opportunity for extortion and oppression. The inevitable result of this was "the state of anarchy and confusion into which these unhappy provinces had fallen during the last years of Maratha rule."[22] The 'pargana' officials, and the 'patels', in order to please their authorities' and to meet the increasing demand from the state, exploited the cultivators to a considerable extent.

The system of land revenue was quite different in those areas where the Maratha rule was firmly established, specially in the Nagpur territory including Chhatisgarh. The Gond system was prevalent particularly in Nagpur province. The entire region since early times was divided into 'parganas', each containing numerous villages, Under the Gond rulers, these 'parganas' were administered by the 'Deshmukhs' and 'Deshpandes'. They were subsequently substitute by 'kamavisdars'. In each village, there was an office of the 'patel' who, as agent of the Government and under the superintendence of the 'kamavisdar',[23] was responsible for apportioning and collecting the land revenue of his village. He also possessed a subordinate magisterial and judicial authority over his jurisdiction. He was paid either in the shape of money or rent-free land, besides enjoying certain dues and privilages. His office was neither hereditary nor saleable, and was open to ejection at any moment. Yet, in many cases, the 'patels' were frequently succeeded by their sons, or other members of their families.[24]

The cultivators held their lands on yearly lease granted to them by the 'patel'. Neither cultivator was entitled to cultivate the same field in perpetuity, nor the same lease was granted to him for more then one year in succession.[25]

Generally, neither the Maratha rulers not their 'kamavisdars' ever interfered with the existing rights. The patelship could not be taken away from a family which had enjoyed it for generation,

except where the 'ptael' had made himself unpopular or was incompetent towards discharging his duties. If, however, a patel' of good standing happened to the unable to pay the revenue, the 'kamavisdar' often became security for him, and the 'sowkar' paid the dues on the feith of this security.[26] 'Patel' was usually the head of the community. The cultivators looked to him for help and protection in an emergency, and he usually performed his duties as benevolent leader.

The cultivators too had enjoyed the right of tilling the same field year after year. The government demand generally being on the whole village, the 'patel' was the main force in apportioning and assessing the lands field by field. Due to mutual confidence and reliance the cultivators, who had been the party of anyone year's assessment eventually became the party for the next. At these settlements 'bide' was considered as the pledge of mutual goodwill, which was offered by the 'patel' to the cultivators."[27]

The system of annual settlement was also prevalent during the Maratha period. The 'kamavisdar' made a total assessment for the 'pargens' which was distributed over the villages is consultation with the 'patels'. In each village land was distributed among cultivators. Strangely enough, the total village assessment was not fixed till the character of the session became wellknown. "As the Patels thus engaged for an unknown sum, comments Baden Powell," they resorted to a device for istributing the burden on the 'ryots' according to capability, by establishing a system of 'comparative values' for the land in the village.[28]

The land was classified according to its quality into two denominations— 'chal' and 'thok'.[29] The better lands of the village were called the 'chal' lands,which constituted a major portion. Each field was given a value to express its revenue paying capacity in comparison with other 'chal' fields. This value was termed the 'sin' of a field and was ordinarily expressed in fractions of a rupee, and the culivator was supposed to pay this rent accordingly. There was nothing permanent in the 'sin' valuation of a field, which usually varied year by year.[30] The 'thok' fields, usually waste lands, were generally kept out of the engagements on the 'sin' system, except sometimes on a fixed rent subject to no alteration.[31]

The division of 'chal' and 'thok' fields was by no means a permanent one. The lands used to change their character as well as their name ('chal' or 'thok'), according to the amount of fertility recorded in them.[32] When the revenue was fixed for a village, the amount realizable from the 'thok' fields was first deducted, and the balance was distributed according to the 'sin' of each field. The yearly 'lagwan' or rent-roll was prepared annually giving the details of engagements concluded between the 'patel', acting as the government agent on the one hand, and the cultivators on the other.[33] It exhibited the 'dhara' or rate at which each field was assessed, nothing all the changes occurring from the details of the preceding year.

The districts of Chhattisgarh, though being a part of the Bhonsla Kingdom, had a some what different system? They remained under the tutelage of the Haihaivanship for about a thousand years. The traditional Rajput feudal system prevailed in these region under which the lands were distributed amongst the chiefs, who further distributed it among the cultivators, and collected rents from them, there by contributing a certain proportion towards the royal revenue in succession.[34]

To secure the operation of the assessment, each village was divided into 'mora' or plots of equal value, and each 'mora' was sub-divided into ploughs. The cultivators held the fields according to the number of ploughs and paid the rent equivalent to, or multiple of the sum, fixed as the relative value of one plough for the year.[35] In order to ensure equality, there was a system of 'lakh-batta' or periodical redistribution.[36] If there was an increase or decrease either in the cultivated land or in the number holders, the village headman collected the people in order to re-distribute the land to the satisfaction of each party.

The village headman was called the 'geontia'. Though the office was not hereditary or saleable, but like the office of the 'patel' of Nagpur, the son of a 'geontia' had the claim to succeed his father."[37] This office had an ancient standing. The 'geontia' distributed and re-distributed the land among the cultivators; some-times aided them with money, seed and cattle, etc; and collected the rents from them. He was paid by some ploughs of rent-free land, a

portion of the rents collected and customary dues from the cultivators.[38]

The Marathas did not change the basic structure of land revenue system. A 'Subadar' was, however, appointed over the entire area under whom some 'kamavisdars' were deputed to look after the different 'parganas'. There were also 'patels' incharge of several villages, under whose supervision the 'geontias' conducted yearly settlements. Here too, the amount of the land revenue for each village was not fixed till the nature of the crop was ascertained.

Reference should be made here about Sambalpur, which had been under the Chouhans till its annexation in 1849. Here also the village headman was called 'gaontia'.[39] Whom the Rajas regarded as 'thekadars' for revenue purposes. The 'gaontia' in tun made assessment with the cultivators, distributing lands among them and fixing the rent on individual cultivator. He was paid by a rent-free land called 'bhogra', apart from a 'nazrana', indirectly raised at the time of each renewal.[40]

Although the 'gaontia' had no permanent right of tenure, yet hereditary succession and long incumbency gave priority of claim. The cultivator too had the privilege of long-standing claim to the right of occupancy, unless he was ejected by the 'gaontia' for non-payment of rents.[41] One characteristic of the native system was that the assessment was made for the rice fields only.[42]

In Sironcha or the Upper Godavary District which was under the Nizam, the existing system was called 'batai'.[43] Immediately after threshing of the grain 'Mahsooldar' of the village, after formal distribution of the shares of the village-servants, collected half of the remaining grains leaving the other half for the cultivator. Here too the tenures of 'patels' and cultivators were far from secure. Cultivators, being gathered by the 'patel' received their leases, specifying the number of ploughs they intended to use.[44] The rates were fixed on the relative value of each plough.

I. THE EARLY BRITISH SYSTEM

Before the incorporation of the territories into one province, they were lying scattered into separate administrative units, some of them came as early as in 1818 under the British dominion, while others as

late as in 1860. The British system of land revenue, therefore, varied in the different territories. The system of land revenue implemented in the Saugar and Narbada territories and Nagpur proved pioneering because in future the same structure was retained in the whole of the Central Provinces.

A. Saugar and Narbada Territories

The entire span of the running current of the lend revenue system in the Saugar and Narbada territories can be conveniently divided into two distinct periods of 20 years each since its annexation in 1818 up to the revolt of 1857. During the first period a policy short-term settlements was followed. The British administrators preferred the existing system of yearly settlements, followed by the quinquinial settlement (1821, 1826, and 1831). The Maratha principle of settling the village with lessees, or the highest bidders too remained unaltered. The British Revenue Authorities diagressed a little from the existing Maratha system in the field of assessment. The assessment under the Maratha underwent annual variations, the British made it unchanged for full term of settlement.[45]

These tentative settlements were as injurious as those of the Marathas, the fatal mistake committed by the British authorities to suppose that "peace and security would enable the people to pay the same revenue as the native rulers could extract."[46] They assessed the lands too high and demanded an enormous revenue, which ultimately impoverished the cultivators.[47] The people were harassed to the extent that even the hereditary owners of land had refused, on any terms, to accept the proprietary rights of the villages.[48] Even the people in large numbers deserted their villages, and fled to jungles.[49] Thus, the entire enterprise in agriculture had been crushed and there was not the slightest attempt of improvement.

The reason of this devastation was probably that the revenue authorities went on fixing the demand too high on the expectation that the lands under their disposal had the capacity to bear it upon, and that the British rule would attract capital and people so as to cause a "complete revolution" in agriculture.[50] At the same time they failed to realize that mere "peace and security" could not

compensate all classes of the population, unless considerable time had been given them to rehabilitate their villages and restore the fertility of land.

Colonel Sleeman, who served in the Saugar and Narbada territories from 1820 to 1839, was one of the contemporary witnesses. In his memoirs he observed: "Settlements of land which were made throughout our new land acquisitions upon these fallacious assumptions of course failed.[51]

Another reason was the policy of the British Government to interfere in the relations between the 'patel' and the 'ryots'. The Marathas, though realized maximum revenue, always gave the 'patel' a free hand in dealing with the cultivators. The 'patel' could, therefore, realize excessive rents and other assets from them and paid any enhanced demand of the rulers. But the British authorities prevented the 'patels' from realizing any other assets on the one hand, and continued the pressure of heavy demands on the other. This policy ruined both the 'patels' and the cultivators. With reference to the famine of Bundelkhand in 1833, colonel Sleeman had rightly pointed out that the "injudicious interference on the part of Government officers had done harm to the economic life of people."[52] Even Robert Merttins Bird was of the view that "there was no incentive among the revenue officers to improve the existing condition, and that, whatever remissions were granted, they proved quite insufficient to meet the exigency."[53]

He, however, recommended that the territories be settled on a fair 'jumma' for 20 years; that the settlement be made with the 'petals' in possession, who should not be removed during the term of the settlement except for default; that they be allowed to settle their terms with the 'ryots' on the condition of furnishing yearly 'jamabandi' for record; that the property of the cultivators be liable to sale in execution of decrees for arrears of rent; and that the 'patel' be permitted to transfer his lease to a banker in times of difficulties, with the consent of the collector.[54]

It was after the submission of this report that the Government of the Northwestern Provinces issued orders for conducting a settlement for 20 years in the Saugar and Narbada territories.[55] This was the beginning of the second period of regular settlement under

the British administration. The principles of the settlement as laid down by the government were as follows:

1. That a settlement for 20 years be made at a fair 'jumma' or assessment.
2. That it be made with the 'patels' in possession; they be not liable to be removed during the term of the settlement except for default. That the sanction of the Sadar Board be necessary for cancelling an existing lease or displacing a 'patel' or making a new settlement.
3. That the lessees be allowed to settle their rents with the 'ryots', furnishing a 'jummabandee' for record, and providing with a fresh 'jummabandee' in case any change in the terms were effected.
4. That the 'patel' be entitled to remove a 'ryot' and dispose him of his fields at pleasure for arrears of rent; and that all property of the ryot be liable to sale in execution of decree of rent.
5. That the 'patel's be permitted to dispose of the terms of his lease with consent of the collector.
6. That the Tahsildar be allowed to issue 'dasaks' for arrears of revenue. But he could not set aside or control the management of the 'patel' without the orders of the District Officer, nor could he interfere with the internal management of a village.
7. That both Tahsildar and Collector be strictly prohibited from interfering with the transactions of agricultural capital.
8. That it be declared that the 'jumma' was to be collected without remission, except under extraordinary circumstances
9. That in the district of Hatta (Damoh),[56] lease be granted to the village community, through their agents (s), and if they could not fulfill their engagement, the lease be annulled and given to a farmer on similar conditions by the District Officer with the sanction of the commissioner and the Sadar Board of Revenue.

10. That the waste lands be let on long leases and on easy terms to the chiefs of the aboriginal inhabitants, or to some other person acceptable to the local chief, and that no attempt at mauzawar settlement be made there.

This 20 years settlement was brought into operation between 1835 and 1838. Government demand on the gross collections was fixed at 66 per cent. At the same time reduction in revenue was effected from Rs. 24 lakh to Rs. 22 $\frac{1}{4}$ lakhs.[57] The reductions were not uniform. In Jabalpur, Narsinghpur, Hoshangabad districts settlements were made at a reduced assessment, but in Saugar and Damoh district enhancements were effected, Consequently, the Government demand could not be realized in full, until reductions were made.[58]

The important point in this system was the minimization of the policy of interference in the matters of rent. R. M. Bird was one of those advocates who saw through it and emphatically condemned the policy of official interference. But despite all this the official attitude continued unchanged.

The so called harping on the same theme policy produced twofold results. On the one hand the 'ryots' looked utterly justed with the existing system being tinged and tinctured by the principle of active official interference, while, on the other hand, even the higher authorities faced it as a big problem, because there was no scope for the introduction of the proprietary rights which they wanted to operate as was being done in the Northwestern Provinces since 1833.

All these found expression when this 20 years settlement came under review by the Lieutenant-Governor of the Northwestern Provinces in 1847. James Thomason, the then Deputy Secretary of the government recorded in a famous minute the significance of the policy of proprietary rights. He was very critical to the system of giving away leases of the villages, without ascertaining any sort of proprietary right. "Such a state of things", he commented, would be "fatal to the prosperity of the country, and imperatively requires remedy."[59] Further, he recommended the introduction of the system of survey and record of rights as the best method of effecting this policy.[60]

In some of the districts the assessment were too high to be realized. After half a century the Government of India in reference to the case of Saugar district, condemned scathingly the technique of high assessment. It was observed that "In 1834 the twenty years" settlement was still not sufficiently moderate, and the same benefits did not accrue from this long settlement as in other districts of these territories.[61] This hampered considerably the progress of agriculture. Similarly, due to harsh assessment an insurrection broke out in 1843 in the Chawarpatha Pargana of the Narsinghpur District, which was suppressed severely.[62]

Another drawback of the system was related to the lesses. The leases were, in principle, given to the 'patels' in possession. But the problem was whether the 'patels' were the rightful owners of the villages. In Jabalpur District particularly, there were frequent changes in the office of 'patel' during the period of tentative settlements and in many villages their place had been occupied by the 'marwaris'.[63] Likewise in the existing settlement, the lessees were liable to the removed on grounds of default or they could transfer their leases to village-bankers. This might have resulted in the withdrawal of a considerable number of legitimate 'patel' from their office, due to the fact that they could not meet the higher demands, and in their place the moneylenders stepped in to be recognized as 'patels'. This created a big furore during the later settlements, when the principle of conferring proprietary rights in the villages was brought into operation.

The twenty years settlement in most of the district of the Saugar and Narbada territories came to a close in 1853 and the decision was to be taken in favour of another long-term settlement. But before its implementation, it was necessary to decide whether the system of recognizing proprietary rights was to be adopted or not. The question was not a new one for the Northwestern Provinces Government, for it had already recognized 'zamindars' with proprietary rights in the settlement of 1833, Even the officers, recruited in the Saugar and Narbada territories, were quite familiar with the main school of opinion on the subject. Undoubtedly, they were in favour of extending the Northwestern principles of proprietary rights in these territories. It is writ large from the famous minute of 25th March, 1847.

The decision was, therefore, ultimately taken in favour of proprietary rights, and instructions were issued in 1853 regarding the preparations for the re-settlement of the territories.[64] This constitutes a landmark in the history of the land revenue administration of the Central Provinces, because this provided a strong edifice upon which the strong structure of the "Molgujari Settlement" was raised in 1860.

On the pattern of already issued instructions, it was resolved that the settlement be made on the basis of an apparent or approximate proprietary rights. The main object was to recognize fixed rights or claims and interests, and to avoid any interference with them by "any speculative acts or views of the Officers of Government."[65] At the same time it was also decided to confer in every case the proprietary title as the creation of free gift of the government.[66]

It had also been pointed out that, wherever there would be contending claims between a 'malguzar', who had possessed only occasional and interrupted interest in the village and the 'kadeem kashtkar', the proprietary right in that case would be conferred on the latter with a right of transfer or division, subject to the regular payment of the revenue fixed for his land. Similarly, all the cultivators possessing their holding since 1840, were entitled to such proprietary rights in case there was an absence of other strong claiment.[68]

With the final completion of the basic framework, the Government of N. W. P. came out with an announcement of their plans for the implementation of another 20 years settlement in the form of a proclamation in 1854. The idea this time was to "confer the zamindari (proprietary) right" on those persons who had stronger claims to such a gift.[69] It was also proclaimed that the survey of the whole territory would be undertaken. Enquiries were to be made in regard to the length of possession of the land by each cultivator, extension of cultivation and the nature of soil and crops. A complete record of these was to be maintain to as certain individual propriety claims, as well as to prepare record of rights. The settlement officer was empowered to appoint a 'lambardar', who was to be solely responsible for collecting the revenue from other shareholders, for which an allowance of 5 per cent would be paid to him.[70]

The government also implemented the Saharanpur Settlement Rules in the territory by which the demand of land revenue was curtailed to one-half of the average net assets instead of two-thirds (or 66 per cent).[71]

In this way the stage was set for another regular settlement, But before it could be started, the revolt of 1857-58 interrupted the operations. However, shortly after the amalgamation of the Saguar and Narbada territories into the Central Province, the above principles of settlement were carried out all over the territories.

B. The Nagpur Province

During the period from 1818 to 1830, when the Nagpur Province was controlled by the British management for the first time, Richard Jenkins, the then Resident, was entrusted to hold the administrative reigns. In the field of revenue administration he accepted the continuance of the old Maratha system with minor modifications.

'Kamavisadars' were allowed to retain their authorities over 'parganas', but they were subject to the control of the English Superintendents. The primary task of the latter was to impose a check on the illegal exactions of 'kamavisdars', to oblige them to reside in their 'parganas' and to pay them according to the size and revenue of their 'parganas.'[72]

Like the Maratha system, 'patel' was the key official, with whom the new settlement were concluded. He was acknowledged as the Government's Agent, who usually mad contracts with the cultivators. But, in view to ascertain rights and privileges of all classes of cultivators, relations between the cultivators and patels' were touched with a tender hand to avoid unnecessary interference. Ryots were encouraged to complain when any unauthorized demands were made, and those who complied with such demands were also held equally responsible.[73]

Yearly settlements were also substituted by triennial settlements and the assessment once fixe was not subject to any change whatsoever during the term of the settlement.[74] To ascertain the government demand, field to field assessment was made the

'lagwans' were checked and the village papers were tabulated.[75] Unfortunately, the 'lagwans' and other village papers were so untrustworthy that correct assessment could not be made. Consequently, in spite of the decrease in the British land revenue demand in comparison to the Marathas, the system suffered from over assessment. Mostly the 'patels' were the victims. On the one hand, they had to pay somewhat equal revenue as they paid to their Maratha masters, while on the other, they were forbidden to raise the rent from the cultivators.[76] Even, Jenkins himself admitted the consequences of unequal pressure of assessment, which compelled many of the watandar 'patels' in the Berar 'parganas' to give up their villages. Even the remissiosn could not provide any relief Perhaps the British administrators mistook the enhancement of the land revenue as a sign of efficient administration.[77]

Form 1830 to 1853, the country was administered by the Bhonsla Raja Raghuji III. After his death, it was escheated permanently to the British Empire. From this year to its incorporation in the Central Provinces in 1861, the revenue administration continued on the lines of Jenkin's system.[78] Summary settlements were made for a term of three years. The 'ryots' were protected against any enhancement of their rents by the 'patels'. In the case of 'kadim jotdar', corresponding to the 'kadim kashtkar' of the Northwestern Province, it was laid down that he could not be ejected by the 'patel', nor his rents be increased. Even the rents of new cultivators could not be fixed by the 'patel' without reference to a 'panchayat.[79]

Enquiries were made during this period so as togather information regarding the existence of proprietary rights, with a view to substitute the summary settlements with that of regular settlement. Since the existing settlement had been, made 'mauzwar' with the 'malguzars' or heads of villages, colonel Elliot, the Commissioner was strongly in favour of making the long-term settlement with them with proprietary rights. he proposed the new settlement to be "for at least 20 years is not for 30 years."[80] He also proposed that the 'malguzars' be left with a margin of 30 to 35 per cent of the gross rental, of which 20 per cent could be their profit.

The Government of India approved these recommendations, and ordered for a 20 years settlement to be operated in the Nagpur Province, giving the 'malguzars' large and absolute control over the property. At the same time it was expressed that 'malguzars' should be left with a margin of 40 per cent of the rental, and even upon 50 per cent in very special cases.[81]

In this way, like the Saugar and Narbada territories, the Nagpur Province was also selected for introducing a long-term settlement with proprietary rights in 'malguzars'. Preliminary survey operations were already conducted when they were merged with the Central Provinces. However, the principles laid down were later on adopted when the "malguzari settlement" for the whole of the Central Provinces was recommenced.

C. The Chhattisgarh Country

Being a part of the Nagpur kingdom, Chhattisgarh first came under British management from 1818 to 1830, and later on escheated in 1853 by the British.

During the period of British management Colonel Agnew was the Superintendent of Chhattisgarh. He allowed the old Maratha system to be continued, with the exception that all excess exactions by the 'kamavisdars' and 'gaontias' from the ryots were prohibited.[82]

Agnew adopted the practice of fixing the assessment by a proclamation. Every year the 'kamavisdars' issued such proclamations, stating the amount to be paid by each village of the 'pargana'. If necessary the terms were explained to the 'patels' and 'gaotias' and he 'ryots' at assemblies in each village.[83] The assessment was continued to be made on the plough. Lands were classified according to the nature of soil, 'Amins' were appointed in each 'pargana' to keep record of assessment and collection of revenue. He was to investigate also the existing proprietary rights in the village.[84]

After escheat, however, triennial settlements were resorted to and further enquires were constituted into the existing rights. In 1860, orders were issued for a long-term settlement, and survey operations were commenced. It was not until the formation of the Central Provinces, that the regular settlement was introduced.

D. Sambalpur District

During the early years of British administration, the only change made in the revenue administration of the district was an all round enhancement of land revenue. The result was that the district became more discontented. Surendra Sahi, one of the pretenders to the throne, led a revolt in 1857 which was foiled out by the British in 1862. Even after his capture, disturbances continued, and finally were suppressed in 1864. Consequently, no systematic settlement could be made until the year 1871.

However, when the district came first under British management in 1853, a tentative triennial settlement was effected based "on the imperfect and unsatisfactory data contained in the records of the late raja."[86] It suffered heavily from the fault of over-assessment. A new quinquinial settlement was introduced in 1853 at a "slight enhancement in some villages."[87] Since its expiry in 1858, any other fresh settlements became impossible to be introduced due to disturbed state of affairs in the district.

E. Nimar District

When the British took possession of three 'parganahs' of Nimar-Kasrawad, Kanpur and Beria-in 1818, they were practically deserted as there was "not a dwelling or an inhabitant" to be seen.[88] Other 'parganahs' came under British rule gradually till 1825. However, the land were assessed on yearly leases. The 'patels' were given 'wattans', cultivators 'taccavi' advances, and very effort was made to restore the devastated land.[89]

The first 'farming system', as it was called, was introduced in British Nimar for five years from 1828 to 1833. The principle on which the settlement was made, was a merecre-distribution of existing gross demands. The villages were farmed out to the highest bidders, and in many cases claims of the old 'patels' were set aside. This resulted into over-assessment causing extraordinary hardships to the cultivators.[90]

The second 'farming system' followed the first for another five years from 1834 to 1839. Efforts were made to safeguard the interests of the cultivators against any enhancement of rents by the

farmers. No lessee had the power of increasing the rent on any 'ryot' for each field or fields held under him. But no attempt had been made to restore the old position of the 'patels', who were thrown out of office. The third, farming system from 1840 to 1845 was also effected with the same principle.

A portion of the Nimar district, which was called 'Sindhia's Nimar' was also under the British management. Major Sandys, incharge of the district, had introduced a fifteen years settlement in 1839, on the principles of 'farming system' then prevalent in the British Nimar.[91]

The 'farming system' both in the British and Sindhia's Nimar had been characterized by intolerable over-assessment.[92] An average remission for the entire period of 'farming system'—about 10 per cent on government demand—shows the excessive assessment trend.[93] Another drawback was "the shortness of the leases, and the absence on the part of the lessees of any permanent interest in the soil."[94]

However, the entire district came under the British rule in 1844. Official opinion by that time had been in favour of 'Kham' or direct management.[95] The district officer had already made up his mind to bring the while district under 'khalsa' system to which the sanction of the Lieutenant-Governor of the northwestern Provinces was received immediately.[96]

The 'Khalsa system' which was introduced in 1846, was based on the model of the Bombay ryotwar system. The settlement was made with the cultivators, preferably on reduced assessment As for as possible the 'patels' were deputed to collect land revenue.[97]

But this system was changed soon after, and the twenty years settlement was ordered on the model of the Northwestern Provinces system in 1847.[98] The principle was to confer proprietary right on the 'junadars' or the old resident cultivators. Every attempt was made to induce them to form themselves into communities and to accept joint responsibility for the land revenue of their villages with the Patels as 'lambardars.' If they declined to do so, each of them was offered proprietary rights in his holding, provided that he would agree to pay the revenue assessed upon it. In this case the 'patel' was than declared superior proprietor of the village.[99] The assessment

was based on the two-third principle of the Government 'jumma'.[100] In this way the Nimar settlement began its operation on the identical principles as were laid down in the Saugar and Narbada territories.

F. The Upper Godavary District

In 1861, the district officer was ordered to make a summary settlement for four years.[101] But before the settlement could begin, the district was merged with the Central Provinces. ultimately to be brought under a regular settlement.

II. PROPOSAL FOR A PERMANENT SETTLEMENT

Immediately before the formation of the Central Provinces, Colonel Baird Smith submitted a report to the Governor-General of India in connection with the enquiries for which he was deputed in the famine districts of the Upper Provinces in February 1861. He elaborately dealt with the question of a permanent settlement, and recommended that the settlements of various parts of British Indian be made permanent through a legislative enactment of the Supreme Government. The Government of India there upon forwarded the report to all the local governments for their comments upon the advantages of a permanent settlement.[102]

The Madras Government was first to record its reaction to the above proposal. A number of minutes by administrators like Sir William Denison, Maltby, and Morehead were issued condemning the permanent settlement and pleading strongly the case of 'ryotwari' settlement over it.[103] The Bombay Government also did not approve of the idea of permanent settlement and authorities like Sir George Russell Clark, Reeve, Feere favoured expressedly their views on the continuation of the 30 years settlement[104] the Government of the Punjab too declared that the implementation of the permanent settlement "will have effect upon the province."[105]

On the contrary, Government of Northwestern provinces and the Bengal presidency came out with an open support for the new proposal.[106] The Central Province, with its spearhead in Richard Temple unequivocally emphasized that the permanent settlement would fix the assessment for ever, and it should be more accurately

termed the permanent and perpetual limitation of the direct state demand on the land.'[107] In his opinion, it would be good both for the people and the state.[108]

In thrashing out the details for the implementation of the permanent settlement in the Central Provinces, Richard Temple gave some concrete suggestions by emphasizing that the districts of Raipur, Bilapur, Sambalpur, Sironcha. Bhandara, Mandla, Seoni, Chhindwara and Baitul were not suited for it, whereas he districts of Nagpur, Warda, Chanda, Jabalpur, Saugar, Damoh, Narsinghpur and Hoshangabad would be best suited parts for this type of settlement.[109] He suggested the following conditions for the fruitful implementation of the permanent settlement in Central Provinces.

"I. That, when in the course of the present settlement, it shall appear to the authorities engaged in making the settlement, that an estate is....fitted for a permanent settlement, in such estate the essessment be made in perpetuity.

"II. That, one of the chief conditions of fitness for this boon be that at least three-fourths of the culturable area is under cultivation.

"III. That, it be competent for settlement officers to hold out a promise, in certain cases, that on estates attaining that advanced state in which three-fourths of the land is under cultivation, a revised assessment be made and declared permanent.[110]

Temple later on revised his opinion in regard to the implementation of permanent settlement in the Central Provinces particularly in reference to those districts of the old Saugar and Narbada territories, where the 20 years settlement had already worked satisfactorily.[111]

In the light of the effective nature of the permanent settlement the Governor-General, Lord Canning and the members of his Council approved of the permanent settlement to be implemented all over the country, although no orders were passed to that effect.[112]

Immediately after the approval of the idea of permanent settlement the Imperial Government moved the matters to the Sadar Board of Revenue, Northwestern Provinces for seeking expert comments on the proposals for the Central Provinces.[113] Sir William

Muir, the Senior Member of the Sadar Boad of Revenue, observed that the past twenty years settlement in the Saugar and Narbada territories were not successful because of heavy assessment, and the people could get relief only when summary reductions in the government demands were ordered. Therefore, the settlement could not be regarded to hold out any sure light to guide towards a permanent settlement. "He, however, suggested that the settlement in the Central Provinces be made for 30 years, with the condition that after first ten years the government would be at liberty to revise it "with the view of effecting a permanent settlement."[114]

The viceroy gave his consent directing the Chief Commissioner to introduce a 30 years settlement with the condition suggested by William Muir.[115] The Secretary of state also favoured the opinion and suggestions of William Muir. He could not go with Temple's idea for which he said that it was all done in a "hasty and inconsiderate manner."

He gave so much weight to William Muir's suggestion on the entire issue that before any final decision was made, the expert comments of the Member of the Sadar Board of Revenue must be taken into account seriously.[116]

Under such circumstances, the decision in favour of a long-term settlement over that of a permanent one was finally taken. This settlement was introduced uniformly throughout the Central Provinces.

III. PREPARATIONS FOR A REGULAR SETTLEMENT

As already mentioned, the 30 years settlement in the Central Provinces was presented as the forerunner of the permanent settlement. The Chief Commissioner was also anxious to proclaim it accordingly. But the Government of India advised him to reconsider the proposal made by him for issue of a general proclamation on the subject.[117] When the matter was again referred to William Muir for his opinion, he regarded such promise of a permanent settlement to be unreasonable. In his view the circumstances might not render it possible in "an equivocal situation in the eyes of people."[118] Therefore, the proposal for a permanent settlement in the Central Provinces was finally rejected by the Government of India.[119]

In the meanwhile preparations for a regular settlement of the land revenue were in progress. In fact settlement operations had been ordered long back in the Saugar and Narbada territories in 1854-55. But the outbreak of revolt disturbed the progress. However after restoring order, preliminaries of the new settlement were in offing. Similarly, in the Nagpur Province, orders were issued in 1860 for the commencement of new regular settlement. The only changes effected were the introduction of a 30 years settlement instead of 20 years in the old Saugar and Narbada territories to make it uniform with the term of the Nagpur province, and the extension of these orders to Sambalpur.[120] In this way, 30 years tern was accepted for all parts of the Central Provinces.

The basic feature of this settlement was the recognition of proprietary rights. The Proclamation of 24th June, 1854, issued by the Government of the Northwestern Provinces for the Saugar and Narbada territories had been accepted as the basis for the new settlement throughout the Central Provinces. According to it 'zamindari' rights were conferred on such persons who had long held possessions of their estates and who paid the government demand on them. These persons were called the 'malguzars' or superior proprietors. Generally the old revenue farmers and 'patels' were awarded with this right.[121] They were made intermediaries between the cultivators and the state. They collected the rent from the cultivators under their respective jurisdictions, and were responsible to say land revenue after keeping with them a termidable share of collections.

Besides 'malguzars' there were those who actually tilled the land. For them the ward tenant' was used and the amount they paid to the 'malguzars' in cash was called the 'rent'.[122] Proprietary rights for certain categories of tenants were also recognized.

Apart from the principle of proprietary rights, the next issue was that of fixing a formidable share of the government demand or land revenue. In Northern India the Saharanpur Rules of 1855 had restricted the government demand to one-half of the rental. This rule was also applied on the Saugar and Narbada territories in 1855.[123] For the Nagpur province it was decided in 1860 that th 'malguzars' would be left with 40 per cent of collections generally and in special

cases up to 50 per cent.[124] These instructions were liberally interpreted by Richard temple and in the Settlement Code of 1863, which he issued after the sanction of the Governor-General, the half-rental principle of the Saharanpur Rules was made applicable throughout the Central Provinces without any reservation.[125]

These were the two principles of the regular settlement 1. The recognition of proprietary rights in the 'malguzars' and tenants rights in cultivators, and 2. the limitation of the land revenue to one-half of the rental of the estates.

IV. THE MALGUZARI SETTLEMENT

The "Malguzari Settlement" was implemented on the spirit of earlier rules and regulations in general rather than any specific law passed or the purpose. Regulation VII of 1822 Regulation X of 1833 and the Act X of 1859, alongwith a number of rules enunciated by the Government of the Northwestern Provinces regarding earlier settlements of the former Saugar and Narbada territories provided a solid background for the settlement operations. The Settlement Code, issued by the Chief Commissioner in 1863 also furnished general guidelines for the Settlement Officers. However, in 1881, an act namely the Central Provinces Land Revenue Act XVIII of 1881 had been passed, which later on regulated settlement operations and defined various proceedings of it.

The highest settlement authority in hierarchy was the Settlement Commissioner followed by the Commissioners and Deputy Commissioners. The practical part of the settlement operations was carried out by the Deputy Commissioners in their respective districts as Settlement Officers.[126] In certain districts which were somewhat unwidedly, provision for Assistant Settlement officer was also made.[127]

A. The Methods of Survey and Assessment

It was the responsibility of the Settlement Officer and his subordinates to demarcate boundaries of every village within the limits of his respective district. This demarcation was ascertaied by the survey conducted by the professional survey agency, under the

Surveyor General of India. The village in the districts of the hilly tracts were surveyed topographically, while the villages in the districts of the river valleys and in the upland cultivated platesus were survayed 'mouzawar.[128] The 'thakbast' of each village with the nature of land and blocks of cultivated and waste lands, prepared by the professional agency, provided the settlement officials of complete record of the total area of each village and a correct boundary configuration showing cultivated and waste lands.[129]

After measuring of the boundaries of villages the field to field survey was conducted under the guidance of settlement officers through 'patwaris' and 'amins'. Each field was given a separate numbers with the field details. The map prepared after this survey was called the 'shajrah'. It was accompanied by a detailed index or register of every field, numbered in a series, according to the numbers in the 'shajrah', and called the 'khasra; Hence, the settlement survey was often spoken of as the "khasra survey."[130]

Under the system every village was surveyed field to field with the plane table and as maped in details. This was further checked with the survey maps prepared by the professional agency. As Fuller had remarked these two survey operations were conducted quite independently and the measurements were plotted on different scales, one being as a check upon the other.[131] But the measurements were generally rough and inaccurate. The reason being that the native staff of 'patwaris' was not trained up to the mark. Even in the Nagpur and Chhattisgarh divisions, where no regular patwari' staff existed, the survey was conduced by 'aims' imported from the Northwestern Provinces[132] whose knowledge of the regions was inadequate.

As soon as the survey was completed, the task of assessment was taken up. Unfortunately, the backwardness of cultivation, large tracts of waste and jungle lands and inaccurate state of the old village papers made the business uncertain and difficult. However, in the majority of the districts the plan followed was to select 'chaks', where the conditions were almost similar. In these 'chaks' the first step was the classification of soil under these categories— 1. black soil. 2. lighter blac soil, 3. light shallow soil and 4. sandy or

stony soil. In a few districts these were further classified under irrigated and unirrigated lands.[133]

The next step was to ascertain circle rent-rates on different categories of soil. This was done by scrutinizing and analysing the rent-rolls of the villages in the circle, by personal enquiry and by assumption of an expected rise of rents during the settlement. The produce-estimates also provided an out-turn of each crop upon each kind of soil. From this data the assessment was determined keeping in view the circumstances and revenue history of villages.[134]

There were certain notable exception to the above method. The 'khalsa' lands of the Nimar district were settled on the old plan of estimating a "lump sum" "jama" for the ciles, and then distributing it over the village and adjusting the results.[135] The assessment in Seoni district arrived at by the aid of rent-rates and produce estimates, was checked by the assumption that the circumstances of the district warranted a revenue enhancement of 50 per cent.[136] In Hoshangabad, the first step was to calculate an average revenue—rare per cultivated acre, keeping in view the existing rent-rates and their future rise. The assessment thereafter was checked by assumed rent-rates on different classes of soil.[137] A similar pattern was applied in Raipur and Bilaspur districts too.[138]

The settlement code of 1863 did not contain instructions on the principles on which or the methods by which the assessment of the land revenue was to be determined. Certain guides, however were prescribed by executive orders, which were as follows.[139]

(1) The soil rate or revenue.

(2) The plough revenue.

(3) The produce revenue

(4) The average incidence of revenue per cultivated acre.

(5) The existing essets as returned by the 'patwaris'.

(6) The supposed or corrected assets

(7) The existing revenue.

As soon as the assessment was determined, the 'malguzers' were to sign 'kebuliyats', which stated on their part to pay the

revenue on the terms specified by the settlement officers. Subject to the approval of the government the 'malguzars' were bound to pay the stipulated amount of land revenue for the term of the settlement.[140] As recommended by the Government, the revenue was to be paid annually in instalments.[141] However, the Government had the power to revise the assessment till it was confirmed.[142]

The engagement was made either with an individual proprietor or a body of proprietors, through their representative lambardar: If an estate was mortgage, the settlement was then to be made with the mortgage instead of the proprietor. If there were both superior and inferior proprietors in any estate, and both were interested to engage, the Chief Commissioner would then determine as to with whom the settlement was to be made and how the proprietary profits to be shared. If the settlement was finally made with superior proprietor, a sub-settlement was made with the inferior proprietor on behalf of the superior.[144]

In the case of refusal, if there was only one class of proprietor the government was empowered either to seize the estate or settle with some one else, who was no excluded beyond the term of the settlement. If the proprietors were a body, and some of them refused, the settlement in that case was offered to those as a whole who did not refuse. Excluded proprietors were, however, allowed a 'malikanas' of to less than 5 and not more than 10 per cent of the gross rental.[146] In estates where superior and inferior proprietors existed, if any of them refused to engage, the settlement was offered to the other.[147]

Briefly the following records were prepared and used in the survey and assessment operations during the 'malguzari' settlement of sixties.

1. The 'thakbast' or boundary maps of villages, mainly prepared by the professional survey agency.
2. The 'shajrah' or village maps showing field to field demarcation with numbers prepared by native survey agency.
3. The 'khasrah' or index register to the 'shajrah' maps. It exhibited numbers of all the fields in a village their areas,

names of the proprietors and cultivators, nature of soil, kinds of the crop and number and classification of trees in each field.

4. The 'village statements' showing concisely all the details ascertained by the settlement officer.
5. The 'Kabuliyat' or acceptance forms and 'darkhast,' malguzari or petitions filled up and signed by the 'malguzars'.
6. The 'khewat' or record of shares and revenue responsibility of each proprietor, in case the estate was owned by a proprietary body.
7. The 'jamabandi' or a record of rents and occupancy of each tenant.
8. The "rent-rolls" adopted at previous settlements, containing kinds of soil and rates upon each kind of soil already paid by the cultivators.
9. The "Produce-estimates" giving the out-turn of each crop upon each kind of soil.
10. The 'wajib-ul-arz' or village settlement papars. It contained specification of village customs rules of management, terms on which the tenants were to be treated by the 'malguzars' distribution of profits among proprietors and emoluments of villages servant act.[148]

B. Treatment of Waste Lands

With the increasing of forest products and growing tendency of changing uncultivated lands into cultivation, the Government gave proper attention to the treatment of the so called waste lands.

While recommending a twenty years settlement for the Saugar and Narbada territories in 1854, the Government of the Northwestern provinces proclaimed the reservation of their rights to dispose of such lands where large tracts of land, either forest or unculturable existed. But where small portions of such land existed, these would be disposed of "sccording to the result of the survey."[149]

It is clear that the intention oı tne proclamation was to reserve all valuable forests and uncultivated lands under the Government control. At the sams time less valuable and small tracts of waste lands might perhaps be allowed to be included it in the 'malguzeri' villages The correspondence which later on pessed between the Sadar Board of Revenue and the Government of the Northwestern provinces on the subject also confirmed that the Government had an unexceptional right over waste lands and forests, and these should be excluded from village lands.[150]

But nothing was done by the revenue authorities in the Saugar and Narbada territories in the matter.

In 1863 the Chief Commissioner took an initiative in this matter and solicited the above orders to be extended in all the districts of the Central Provinces. He suboitted a draft of rules respecting excess waste and forest lands to be excluded from the settlement and declare them state properties after careful survey and measurement.[151] He, however, proposed a concession of uncultivated lands equivalent to 100 per cent on the cultivable area as minimum and 200 per cent as maximum to the agricultural community of village as their claim.[152] This was called the 'do chand' rule and was included in the Settlement Code of 1863, along with other rules on the subject. It was clarified that the rules regarding exclusion of excess waste lands forests applied to such tracts in which no proprietary rights of individuals for villages existed. But where such rights existed they might be "recognized and secured."[153]

Another issue was that of effecting the sale of waste lands either by periodical leases or in perpetuity. Earlier in 1858 'the Secretary of State' Lord Stanley in his Despatch desired that the waste lands be granted to settlers in India in perpetuity.[154] The Government of India, thereupon, passed a Resolution in 1861 to the above effect, intending to grant the waste lands to any settler in India permanently with haritable and transferable proprietary rights.[155] Sir Charles Wood, the Secretary of State in 1862, however, differed with some of the provisions of the Resolution, and suggested certain modifications in regard to the uniform prices ot waste land and their sale by auction. While allowing the Europeans and British subjects

to acquire waste lands by sale, he emphasized that the existing nghts of Indians-be neither violated nor overlooked anywhere.[156]

Following the directives laid down by the Secretary of State, Richard Temple, expressed that there were large tracts of unassessed waste lands in the Central Provinces, specially in the Chhattisgarh Division and in the upper Godavary Districts, which could be made useful for European capitalists and Indian entrepreneurs in case they were sold on moderate rates and terms.[157] He, therefore proposed that maximum of each grant should be 10,000 acres in Chhatisgarh and Mandla Districts, 5,000 acres in Sambalpur, Sironcha and Hoshangabad Districts, 3,000 acres for the rest of the districts. He further suggested minimum and upset price per acre of waste lands ranging from four annas to two and a half rupee.[158] The Governor-General-in-Council pointed out that the proposed scheme would stimulate speculation in large grants with a view to resale. Consequently, in a Government notification the maximum limit of salc of waste lands was described to 5,000 acres for Chhattisgarh, upper Godavary, Mandla and Hoshangabad Districts and to 3,000 acres for the rest of the districts. The minimum price per acre was also fixed from eight annas to two and a half rupee.[159]

C. The Land Tenures

With the introduction of 'malguzari settlement' in the Central Provinces, and thereby raising the status of old evenue farmers, 'patels' and 'gaontias' to that of superior proprietors and 'malguzars' of their estates, the change in the status of the cultivators from village ryots into the 'malguzars' were responsible to pay the Government demand, they were also empowered to collect the rents from the cultivators. Hence, the relations between the 'malguzars' and the cultivators became those of landlords and tenants. The question, therefore, necessarily arose whether 'malguzars' could not enhance rents during period of settlement and eject the tenants who refused to pay the rent.

The position of cultivators has always been regarded as 'desfacto' within the village community, if not 'de jute'. Earliar the relations of 'patels' and cultivators were governed by local tradition and by mutual understanding. When the 'malguzars' were declared

'superior proprietors' of their estates, the immediate attention was given to protect the cultivating community against unlawful pressures also. Consequently, the Government decided to grant tenant rights with proprietary privileges to safeguard the interests of cultivators.

While announcing a twenty years settlement for the Saugar and Narbada territories the policy was first laid down in the Northwestern Provinces Government letter dated the 30th November 1853, and in the Proclamation of June 24, 1854. It was felt that in the absence of "other stronger claims", the 'kedeem kashtkara' who were in the possession of their holdings since 1840, were to be granted full proprietary rights.[160] This principle was later on extended to the other parts of the Central Provinces. as a result all old cultivators, referred to variously as 'kadeem kashtkars', 'kadeem jotdars', 'jotdars' and hereditary cultivators were accepted to enjoy proprietary privileges in their holdings. These were recognize as 'malik-maqbuza', and were not to be eject by the 'malguzars' during the settlement. The 'malguzars' had to commit that the rent payable this category of cultivators would not be enhanced.[161]

Cultivators with lesser claims come meet on the list. There arose a great controversy while the grant of tenancy rights for this class of cultivators came up. It was mainly the result of the extension of Act X of 1859 as amended by the Act XIV of 1863. Under this Act it was laid down that only those cultivators would be given the rights of occupancy who possessed their lands for a period of twelve years.[162]

Rechard Temple was not convinced of that part of the regulation, where it was recommended that a period of twelve years was a must forgetting the occupancy rights. He desired that the term should be extended to 20 or even 25 years, and the courts be empowered to fix their rent "on a claim for enhancement being made."[163] The Governor-General too agreed with the soundness of Temple's modifications,[164] although the provisions under reference to the Act X of 1859 in their original form continued to be applied till the final modification were introduced. The Chief Commissioner had issued an order, known as Circular G of 1865. It stated that as section 6 of the Act of 1869 might be modified, and the record of rights, based on 12 years provision, would be liable to any future

change. But the occupancy rights of certain classes of 'ryots' should be recorded as absolute and not subject to future change. The rights of these cultivators should be protected by entering clauses in the 'wajib-ul-arz' papers, by which the proprietors and their heirs bind themselves to "acknowledge and respect the status of all ryots whose occupancy rights were at the settlement recorded as absolute."[165]

These tenures were popularly known as "absolute occupancy tenures", an the tenants as "absolute occupancy tenants" or "Circular G tenants."

Absolute occupancy tenants were given practically as good status as that of the 'malik-meqbuza'. On the other hand, the tenants having 12 years possession were to be record under the class of the "occupancy tenants" as was laid down under the Act X of 1869. No safequards against enhancement of rents of ejections were provided for them. The remaining cultivators who did not fall under these categories were recorded as "tenants-at-will." Their occupancy of holdings and rents were left entirely at the mercy of 'malguzars.'

This was, in brief, the framework of the "Malguzari Settlement of 1863-67, which was brought into operation during the first decade of the Central Provinces Administration.

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5

The System at Work

Curiously enough, the settlement operations were started in various pars of the Central Provinces much before any decision could be taken in favour of the "Malguzari Settlement." To being with, the beginnings were made in the Saugar and Narbada territories mainly because they were the parts of the Northwestern Provinces in 1855 and there the decision had already been taken for twenty years settlement. The operations go hindered for sometime in 1857 because of the outbreak of the revolt. Another part of the Central Provinces, i.e., the Nagpur country had also to undergo the operational activities in 1860. It is noteworthy were that the settlement operations in these two administrative units were very slow up to 1861, when both of them were finally merged. It was from 1861, onwards that the operations gathered full momento.

A full in time settlement agency with an annual cost of Rs. 35,000 was sanctioned in 1862 for the settlement purposes in the Central Provinces.[1] The post of a Settlement Commissioner was also created in 1863 for assisting on issues like the mode of assessment, recognition of proprietary rights, demarcation of excess waste lands, and understanding of the Settlement Officers of various rules and regulations.[2] The Settlement Department, thus, organized carried out the settlement operation in all its essentials.

I. SURVEY AND ASSESSMENT

Professional and local agencies were entrusted with the job survey operations. In the beginning, two major survey parties were given

the charge of demarcating all village boundaries and excess waste lands. They were—the Saugar and the Nagpur survey agencies. In 1863 the third survey agency, i.e. the Narbada survey was also employed.[3] These agencies covered topographical and 'mouzawar' surveys of all the hill and plain districts respectively. Demarcation work in three of the districts was completed by the end of August 1862. In six other districts satisfactory progress was recorded.[4] The survey work was further extended to the remaining districts in 1862-63. The commendable part of the whole process was that the professional survey was found at its best during 1863-64 when a record area of 3,850 square miles with the districts of Saugar, Jabalpur, Narsingpur, Nagpur, Wardha, Bhandara and parts of Hoshangabad was surveyed.[5] A fourth survey party also broke ground in the Chanda district during the following year, there by extending the successes of survey work.[6] However, the professional survey completed is work in 1868.

Simultaneously the local survey of field to measurement in each village kept on continuing till 1868, when they were finally completed.

Soon after the survey work the assessment operations were undertaken by compiling and colleting the evailable date for finally deciding the rate of assessment. This spade-work in this field was mainly done by the settlement officers. The assessment work was started initially in 11 districts in 1862-63,[7] which was further extended in the following years in the remaining districts, except Sambalpur

The success of assessment can be proved with the help of the figures both of revenue or well as the Government demand. The land revenue marked in increase of 12.5 per cent whereas the government demand rose from Rs. 53,45,526 to Rs. 60,15,373.[8] The district wise assessment figures also prove the contention that there was a marked rise in assessment, despite the fact that the government share was reduced to the half-rental principle.[9]

Following is the resume of survey and assessment operations done during the years 1863 and 1868.[10]

TABLE 5.1

Year	*Number of villages*				*Number of cases*		
	Demarcation of village boundaries	*Field measurement*	*Inspection of assessment records*	*Announcement of assessment*	*Boundary disputes decided.*	*Revenue free-tenures Investigated*	*Proprietary cases decided*
1863-64	5,575	2,411	6,639	8,621	638	15,580	11,506
1864-65	2,081	2,891	5,948	6,340	1,143	11,430	10,571
1865-66	2,003	3,366	3,569	3,920	600	4,241	7,782
1866-67	1,733	2,911	4,288	3,943	743	4,266	5,604
1867-98	3,397	1,689	3,942	4,487	217	2,279	2,074
Total	14,789	13,268	24,386	27,711	3,345	39,756	37,537

II. RECORD OF TENANT RIGHTS

After having discussed the principle for determining the tenant rights in earlier chapter, it becomes clear that all old cultivators having continuous possession on their holdings were to be admitted as 'malk-maqbuzas' And as such the settlement officers started investigating and recording the rights of all those tenants who were covered under the already laid down rules. John Morris, the Settlement Commissioner, however looked at the whole question from the different angle, and was of the view that these rules were not being properly understood and carried on. He further clarified that the recognition of 'malik-maqbuzas' be circumscribed and the rights should be given to the following four classes of tenants, viz., 1. claimants to shares holding land rent-free in commutation of their shares, 2. relations of proprietors holding land a favourable and fixed rates, 3. descendants of former proprietors or 'watandars', and 4. cultivators of long standing who had either exercised some proprietary rights or invested more than an ordinary amount of capital in improvement of their lands.[11] Other heriditay cultivators were not to be admitted under the record of rights, unless "some

stronger claims to proprietorship must be brought forward and proved by the hereditary cultivators before he could be declared proprietor of his-holding."[12]

Consequently, very few tenants were recorded as 'malik-meqbuzas' in various districts of the province. The number would have been larger had the spirit of original rules been retained. While reviewing settlement reports the Government of India expressed its doubts upon the actual application of these proceedings. Taking up the case of the Narsinghpur Settlement Report, it was emphesized that the original orders of 1853 might be implemented in their true spirit and thereby a sub-proprietary right be granted to the original cultivators.[13] Similarly, on the Baitol Settlement Report, they expressed the opinion that the rule had been too rigidly drawn, and that the order of 1853 had been construed "in a manner entirely different from the spirit in which it was framed and promulgated."[14] The same remarks were repeated in the case of other districts.

Gaorge Campbell, the Chief Commissioner, early in the year 1868 enquired into the matter, and he subsequently found that the errors committed during the course of the settlement were due to the issue of the Circular No. 4 of 27th October, 1863. However, in view of the original orders of 1853, and the instructions provided in the Settlement Code of 1863, he was convinced that the spirit of these instructions was not maintained. He, therefore, ordered for the concellation of the Circular No. 4, and insisted upon carrying on the pending operation "in strict accordance with the Settlement Code",[15] He there upon drafted a minute on 28th February, 1868, submitting his view that the claims of the old cultivators held been in many instances over-looked while recognizing the 'malik-mabuz a' rights. He also explained his conduct of cancelling the Circular No. 4, and solicited that the pledges given in the original orders would be maintained "in their fullest integrity both in latter and spirit."[16]

On receiving the orders of the Chief Commissioner for canceliation of the Circular and the subsequent minute, John Morris, the Settlement Commissioner, differed considerably with the view contained tharein. He was of the opinion that the original rules regarding 'kadim kashatkars' never intended to recognise all the claims of proprietorship to all old cultivators. The worlds "in the absence of other fixed and stronger claims" implied that, wherever 'malguzars' had been recognized full proprietors, old cultivators could not stand in

the way. As such the Circular was issued in accordance with the orders of 1853 and the instructions laid down in the Settlement Code. He also made it clear that the old 'malguzars' in the Saugar and Narbada territory and 'patels' in the Nagpur country had enjoyed strong proprietary rights for over two generations. It would have been futile of their rights were ignored and the 'malik-maqbuzas' being installed as proprietors in their place.[18]

Whatever had been the interpretation of original rules regarding the 'malik-maqbuza' tenures, it was clear that the claims of 'malguzars' were considered 'prima facie.' The Circular of 27th October, 1863 had further circumscribed the scope of old cultivators. There can be no doubt that these interpretations practically ceased the uniformity in conferring these rights upon rightful claimants. In some districts, for instance, a few 'malik maqbuzas' were created, the status being virtually restricted to persons having stronger claims. In others, descendands or relatives of 'malguzars', or holders of rent free tenures, or 'watandars' were recognized.[19] Thus, the total result was a minimum possible recognition of these rights on old cultivators.

The second category of tenants was that of the "absolute occupancy tenants", whose rights were specified in the Circular of 20th April 1865.[20] Accordingly, five classes of cultivators were recorded at the time of settlement. These were excluded from any change which might occur due to future amendment in the Act X of 1865. Like the 'malik-maqbuzas' these tenants were also recognized in the village administration papers, 'wajib-ul-arz' by the proprietors of villages.

Under this category only those tenants were admitted who were for one reason or other, excluded from being recorded as 'malik-maqbuza'. The instructions of Circular G were carried out with complete awareness while investigating and recording these tenurees. The Government of India, however, objected to the procedure followed in the districts of saugar, Damoh, Baitul, Bhandara and Wardha, where it was felt that the 'malguzars' had acquired favourable position depriving of a large number of cultivators of their absolute occupancy rights. It was, therefore, directed that revision should be effected in these districts.[21] The Chief Commissioner thereupon directed the revision to be conducted accordingly.[22]

The right of possession of the occupancy tenants on their holdings rested mainly on 12 years standing. Although from the beginning of the settlement doubts were expressed on the expediency of clause 6 of the Act X of 1859, still the progress of investigation and recording this class of tenants was declared to be satisfactory. The only difficulty was in the case of the districts of the Nagpur Division, where the practice of distributing lands among the cultivators on yearly be the 'patels' was in existence. Practically no written engagements existed between the proprietors and cultivators. It was, therefore, difficult of investigate and ascertain occupancy rights on the basis of 12 years.[23] In the absence of clear instructions on the issue, large number of cultivators were deprived of their occupancy titles and were merely recorded as tenants-at-will.

In order to show he extent to which the tenant rights were conceded at the settlement of 1863-67, Fuller presents the following abstract:[24]

TABLE 5.2

Percentage of total number of ryots

District	*Made Malik Maqbuza*	*Made absolute occupancy tenants*	*Made occupancy tenant*
Saugar	8	17	10
Damoh	6	27	11
Jabalpur	4	18	6
Mandla	2	6	7
Seoni	1	10	13
Narsinghpur	1	24	29
Nimar	16	1	10
Hoshangabad	1	34	15
Betul	.6	17	22
Chhindwara	1	21	13
Wardha	4	12	26
Nagpur	17	22	19
Chanda	12	29	11
Bhandara	4	18	14
Balaghat	2	15	11
Raipur	2	15	12
Bilaspur	2	16	7

The records reveal that up to the end of 1867-68, when the record of rights for whole of the Central Provinces was completed about 26,000 'malik-maqbuzas' 1,35.000 absolute occupancy tenents, 73,000 occupancy tenants and 5,38,000 tenants-at-will were recorded, barring nearly 56,000 proprietors of villages.[25]

Yet another important issue of the protection of tenants right as recommended under the settlement code of 1863 emerged with the progress of settlement operations. The correspondence which ensued on the subject contains some indications of the reaction against the purely 'malguzari' system. In 1868 George Cempbell, the Chief Commissioner, called attention to the manner in which the rights of proprietors and cultivators were being conceded. He complained that despite of 1853 regarding the grant of proprietory rights of cultivators, the 'malguzars' used to enjoy the monopoly.[26]

In a lengthy minute dated 4th April 1868 he emphasized on the point that in both the Saugar and Narbada territories as well as in the Nagpur province there existed a large class of old hereditary cultivators, who had strong claims to the right of property in their holdings. On the other hand; the 'malguzars' and 'patels' anjoyed worker claims, since they were often ejected by old governments, and also replaced by moneylending classes in several instances. Despite these of circumstances, during the present settlement 'malguzars' were more favourably recognized full proprietors of their estates, and the cultivators of long-standing were deprived of their legal rights. He also went in details to prove the fact how a very few tenents were really admitted to the right of property in all districts of the province according to the rules of 1853.[27]

Campell specially referred to the position of the 'junadars' in Nimar, on whom it had originally been intended to confer proprietary rights in 1854. But the orders were not carried into effect at the time and the villages "were leased to 'malguzars' to whom the 'jundars' paid their fixed quotas. He, therefore urged that justice and equity should be shown in favour of the 'malik-meqbuzas.[28]

Regarding the status of absolute ocoupancy and ocoupancy tenants, Campbell similarly complained of their being subordinated by the 'malguzars'.[29] This view had been supported by officers like Charles Bernad, Charles Grent and Major Hector Mackenzie

Charles Bernard asserted particularly that absolute occupancy tenents were not admitted to the status of proprietors of their holdings. They had to pay rent to the 'malguzars' distinguished from the revenue demandable by the state.[30] The reaction went further when the settlements of Chanda and Nimar came under consideration, and the advisability of making a 'malguzari' settlement in these districts was called in question.

Next issue closely counected with the question of tenant rights was about the fixity of rents. As regards the first-two categories of tenants the Government of India, in 1864, expressed the following opinion:

"His Excellency in Council is of opinion that the rents of tenants of long standing, when once fixed, should remain unaltered for the term of settlement, or, at any rate for a considerable period.[31]

George Campbell had rightly pointed out that there was no authoritative declaration how the rents of these ryots should be determined. He was of the view that justice could be done only if fixity of payments be conceded to the higher classes of occupancy.[32]

With reference to the occupancy tenants. Temple had earlier in July 1864 complained that the Act X of 1859 could not give sufficient protection to them. He proposed that their rents be more exactly defined.[33] The Government of India was of the opinion that the rents might better be fixed by the mutual consent of both the 'malguzar' and the tenants at the time of settlement. The settlement officer should "step in and mediate" only at the time of difference and disagreement.[34] Nothing was, however clarified abut the fixity of rents during the term of the settlement.

Clause 6 of the said Act had provided ample margin for the 'malguzars' to enhance the rents of occupancy tenants by the decisions of the Revenue Courts, and when the cultivators either failed or refused to pay the enhanced rents, they were liable to be ejected on that ground. In his minute Campbell clearly pointed out that if these tenants were allowed to be haressed by the 'malguzars' under the provisions of the Act with suits for enhancement, there would be every reason to fear that discontent might result. He, therefore, urged that some protection against enhancement should be given to the 'ryots.'[35]

In his further minute he stressed on the need of fixation of rents both for the old cultivators and occupancy tenants.[36] To this proposal Charles Grant and Major Mackenlie agreed, Grant had pointed out that if the principle of fixity of rents for the term of settlements was allied in case of absolute occupancy tenants, they would be separated from landlords, from whom they borrowed money, seeds and cattle whenever needed; and perhaps this would put them in trouble.[37]

Orders were followed upon the submission of above views regarding fixation of rents and providing certain safeguards against enhancement for the absolute occupancy tenants.[38]

In spite of the measures adopted to secure the status of the cultivators, situation continued to be precarious. In fact, the interrelations, between supperior proprietors and cultivators were so peculiar in some parts of the province that independancy of cultivators from the influence of 'malguzars' could not be thought of. The characteristics of Chhatisgarh pessantry was that of their utmost reliance on the 'gaontias' for grain advance and there necessary accessories. Hence the, creation of 'malik-maqbuza' and 'mourusse' tenants naturally induced an antagonistic feeling between the 'malguzars' and 'ryots'.

Early in 1870 the Deputy Commissioner of Raipur reported to the Commissioner of Chhattisgarh that many of the 'mourusee' tenants were actually paying much more than the rent fixed on them. The amount of enhancement was so high that many of these tenants handed over their lands to 'malguzars' giving up their rights on lands. They also migrated to other village, and thus were into forfeit their rights of 'mourusee' tenants. The result was that the tenancy rights were in a melting pot, and the 'malguzars' has attained the status of a master of the situation "in spite of all our benevolent intentions."[39]

This state of occupancy tenants was further made more complicated. On making an enquiry at the Commissionars level it was found that there was an increasing tendency on the part of the 'malguzars' to oust their tenants by instituting suits in the revenue courts.[40]

The ιenants were still ignorant of their accupancy rights, although they were so clearly conferred upon them by settlement officers. The analysis of the entire state of affairs reveals the helplessness of tenants, being the victims of the circumstances of the vicious circle of their 'malguzars' rather than the ignorance.[51] The following observation of Charles Grant will help in clarifying the state of advantage and handicap of the tenants in relation with their 'malguzars'. To quote him; "Many of the landholders are now systematically working either with the aid or under the influence of Hindustani agents to destroy every vestige of occupancy right in their estates. Old cultivators are over-persuaded into changing their fields, and so little do these simple villagers under stand how the change of law effected them that in some cases they have spent their savings in embanking or otherwise improving their new fields so as to make them equal in fertility with the old holdings from which they have been dispossessed."[42]

Above testimony is sufficient to come to the conclusion that the tenant rights of all kinds were at the murcy of the landlords. There was in fact no attempt ever made by the government to redress the sad plight of cultivators. This state of things continued unchanged untill the Tenancy Act IX of 18k3 had been passed.

III. THE MALGUZARI TENURES

The proprietary rights being enjoyed by 'malguzars' remained subject to certain restrictions and revisions. For instance, on the very basic question of free right of transfer or division of the estate of any 'malguzar', the government reserved its right to all mines, querries and forests in that areas.[43] But perhaps the most important reservation was that of the rights of persons other than the 'malguzar'. Cultivators who had been in possession of their holdings since 1840 were declared to be full proprietors of their holdings. For these the term 'malikmaqbuza' was adopted. Similary, "absolute occupancy tenants" and "occupancy tenants" were recognized as a result of Circular G of 1865 and the Act X of 1850 respectively. It was also laid down that the 'malguzar' could neither enhance the rents, nor fixed, during the term of the settlement as regards to the first-two categories of tenants not eject them. But for

the last category, enhancement of rents and ejection of the tenants by the consent of the courts of law were permitted.

According to the Saharanpur Rules of 1855 the 'malguzars' were left with fifty per cent of the gross rental for maintenance and administration of their estates, the rest fifty per cent was the Government demand. 'Malguzars' collected the rents from their tenants and paid revenue to the Government, after deducting their just share. They were not liable to be ousted from their privileges except at default. Besides, they were armed with certain judicial and police powers for maintaining law and order. 'Patwaris' and 'kotwals' were more their servants, who were remunerated either solely by them or by realizing certain casses from their tenants.[44] They also contributed to the funds of road cess and school cess at the rate of two per cent each out of the gross rental collected.[45]

The entire process of interaction of proprietary rights of land reveals that the 'malguzars' were the gainers under the system. Regardless of his position in the past, this system has certainly ascribed him with a status of a full proprietor and thus virtually placed in his hand the entire destiny of the village community. He was almost the virtual fixer of the rent. Although the principle of fixity of rents for the old cultivators was implied, it was least attended to in most of the districts. As regards the occupancy tenants and tenants-at-will, the 'malguzar' was the complete master of the situation. The relations of landlord and tenants were so inter-mixed, that in many cases the absolute occupancy and occupancy tenants gave up their rights in favour of the 'malguzars'. Wherever disputs existed between the landlord and the tenants, the landlords had, by virtue of their position always subdued the tenant rights.

Similarly, 'malguzars' had always a share of fifty per cent of the gross rental. Since the Government demand had been fixed for the term of the settlement, assessments, once fixed on the 'malguzars' were not subject to be revised. On the other hand, 'malguzars' had an opportunity to realize enhanced rents from the tenants. With the increasing facilities of irrigation, the rise in prices of cultivated lands and the rise in prices of foodgrains, the greatest profit had always been enjoyed by them. They were also benefitted by the allowance of about 200 per cent waste lands with proprietary

rights. These waste lands, with increasing industrialization and improved means of communications, proved a big boon for them. Besides the 'malguzars' were allowed to keep their 'Sir' lands as a revenue-free gift.

Economically thus benefitted, the 'malguzar' also enjoyed social and political prestige within his jurisdiction. As an honorary magistrate of his village, and as a guaranteer of law and order, he was immensely brought up to the highest social order. Politically too, the British Government looked upon him as the best supporter of their regims, and commanding allegiance among his ryots in favour of the British Raj.

However, the landlord class had to face a number of handicaps, sometimes situations quite embarrassing. It had been clearly laid down that the Saharanpur Rule of half assets would be the guiding principle throughout the provinces. The Settlement Code also provided directions to the settlement officers that they should fix the assessment with reference to a well-ascertained rental, and not that "the rents should be left to be subsequently calculated so as to furnish the means of meeting an assessment which had been conjecturally fixed by the settlement officer."[46]

Unfortunately the assessment was neither based on actual assets, nor was it regulated in strict accordance with the half assets rule. Wherever there was any likelihood of the Government revenue suffering, the rule was violated, an the assessment fixed in defiance of it. Theoratical rents were obtained by the use of the soil values, and wherever possible, the settlement officers intervened to raise the rents to the figures adopted by them for the assessment purpose.[47]

The following table, taken from the Chief Commissioner's letter of April 1901,[48] shows the extent to which the half-assets principle was violated. It will show the burden of over assessment in most of the districts which directly fell on the shoulders of the 'malguzars'. This will also exhibit how fearlessly and carelessly the half-assets principles was thrown out.

TABLE 5.3

District	*Percentage of assets taken as revenue*	*District*	*Percentage of assets taken as revenue*
Seoni	Under 50	Nagpur	78
Hoshangabad	Under 50	Wardha	79
Narsinghpur	Under 50	Chhindwara	66
Jabalpur	50	Betul	64
Saugar	51	Chanda	60
Damoh	54	Bhandara	60
Mandla	56	Bilaspur	57
Nimar	64	Raipur	53

Besides the above percentage of assessment, they were liable to subscribe the funds like school cess, road cess and postal cess, etc. It can be, therefore, very easily imagined the precarious condition of the landlords. They were, on the one hand, made to pay an increased demand while on the other, by fixity of rents of the 'malik maqbuza' and the 'moursee' tenants in their estates their rent-rolls were considerably decreased.[49] This resulted many a times either in the enhancement of the rental of the tenants by the 'malguzars', or made them the victims of coercive process as being defaulters.

R. C. Dutt, a wellknown revenue officer under the British Government in Bengal in his letter dated 12th February, 1900, brought the charges against the administration of the province that the assessment at the Settlement of 1863-68 on the village proprietors had been unduly severe.[50] On this point he further remarked:

> the principle that one-half of the 'malguzari' assets should be demanded as revenue was repeatedly laid down and insisted upon the orders of the Government of India. and I have filed to discover under what authority this principle was departed in practice.[51]

In replying to the above allegation, J. B. Fuller, the then Commissioner of Jabalpur Division, L. S. Cerey, the Commissioner

of Settlements and Agriculture, and A.N. L. Fraser, the officiating Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces, agreed unanimously that the assessments were moderate. Their point of argument was that in the former settlement the incidence of assessment was too high and care had been taken during the existing settlement not to repeat that measure of over-assessment. Hence, the assessments were fixed quite at a considerable distance below than the former assessments.[52] The Government of India also conceded with the same feeling.[53]

Nevertheless, it should be remembered that at the time of the Settlement of 1863-67, the intention of the Government in accepting the principle of half-asset was to give a fair concession to 'malguzars' redressing the injustice done in the past. It was certainly a pledge on its part to stick to the above principle. Then violation of it can be regarded as the fallacy.

The amount of 'dastaks' issued every year on the difeaulter 'malguzers', shows the coerciveness adopted in the realization of land revenue. The Commissioner adopted in the realization of land revenue. The Commissioner of Chhattisgarh Division reports in 1871 that a very considerable number of 'malguzers' had to give up their villages since the settlement. He also pointed out that the settlement was not very favourable to small and needy proprietors and that not much profit could be made out of small villages.[54] Earlier in 1869 the Government of India informed the Chief Commissioner that some local authorities were treating with harshness proprietors of small landed estates, who, owing to drought and scarcity. had been unable to meet the Government demand, and directed that no extreme measures should be enforced, unless "under any exceptional circumstances."[55]

When, however, the official opinion tended together momentum in favour of a 'ryotwari' system, official sympathy, consequently gredually disappeared in favour of 'malguzars'. The correspondence regarding modifications in the Chands, Nimer and Sambalpur districts clearly indicates the opinion initiated by it. Colonel B. H. Keatinge which was accepted by other authorities. The Government of India seems to have taken lenient view towards 'ryotwari' system.

Consequently, claims of the 'malguzars' began to be looked upon with less favour. for instance, the Chief Commissioner, in 1870 directed his subordinates to adopt the Circular order of the Board of Revenue of the Northwestern Provinces.[56] That circular had laid down certain rules under which the tenants were allowed to deposit the amount of their rents with the Government in case the landowners refused to receive it. Later on in 1871, it was decided that the Government would retain proprietary rights of such holdings which had been resigned by the 'malguzars'.[57] Previously, in such cases, the common prectice was to search for other person, with whom the villages were settled.

Reports were also from administrative officers about the 'malguzars' resigning their villages. In June, 1872 the Commissioner of the Nagpur Division reported that a considerable number of applications were lodged with him from the 'malguzars' tendering resignations from proprietary rights.[58] Although no reason had been attributed. Yet it is easy to guess that the grievances of 'malguzars' might have been greater. Either they were subjected to the pressure of over-assessment, or were unable to manage their estates.

On the whole, it may not be concluded that the 'malguzars' in toto were being harassed by the evil of over-assessment and coercive measures. Such cases, of course, might have been very few. Particularly small proprietors, who by a sudden stroke of femine and scarcity shettered into economic chaos, could have been the victim of circumstances. Big landlords on the other hand, appear to have been prospered under the system, particularly when the agricultural prices increased, and better means of transport enjoyed. Incresse in the irrigation facilities, and clearance of waste lands for cultivation also added to their fortunes.

IV. MODIFICATIONS IN NIMAR, CHANDA AND SAMBALPUR SETTLEMENTS

The reaction against the 'malguzari' settlement became intensified in 1870s when Colonel R. E. Keatinge began to officiate as Chief Commissioner. Previously George Campbell initiated the thinking in fevour of tenant rights, and questioned the very legitimacy of the

'malguzars'. In his view tenants of certain classes might be given protection against arbitrarv enhencement of rent and consequent ejectment.

Till 1870 the settlement raports of Nimar and Chanda were not submitted to the Supreme Government, while in Sambalpur the progress of the settlement was delayed at the very start by the disturbed condition of the district following the revolt of 1857-58. Colonel Keatinge, who had served in Nimar since 1846 had the true experience of the area with 'ryotwari' settlement existing there. He was therefore, opposed to the policy of 'malguzari' settlement in the districts of the Central Provinces. In his memorandum dated the 2nd November, 1870, he brought forward the entire question for reconsideration.[59]

However, the remedies which he suggested mark a complete departure from the original principles of the settlement in favour of the 'malguzars', which were already confirmed in other districts of the province. The correspondence which followed Colonel Keatinge' memorandum created a controversy with regard to the settlements of the Chanda, Nimar and Sambalpur districts.

A. Nimar

Settlement operations in Nimar district concluded by the middle of the year 1869, The in charge of the settlement Captain Forsyth submitted his report in 1870 for approval.[60] In para 222 of the Report he stated regarding the 'malguzars' that there was "not an instance of any the 'malguzars' having exercised anyone of the functions usually appertaining to a landowner" In para 225 it was said that the cultivators had held complete occaupancy rights. In para 269 it was feared that if the hereditary 'patels' were converted into superior proprietors, the result would be that there properties ought to be divided among their descendents according to the Hindu Law. This division would allow "large body of jointly responsible pauper shareholders, collecting each his mite from the proprietary ryots, or claiming his right of partition, and taking off his two or three proprietary ryots to form a new estate, from which he will derive a profit of a few rupees or annas."[61]

The Government of India desired that this state of affairs could be averted by declaring the office of 'patel' to be undivided, and wherever more than one claiments existed, a person best qualified be appointed to manager on their behalf. It had also been pointed out that for some parts of the district, like Zainabad 'Parganah, the Bombay system (of ryotwari) would have been better suited than the village system (of malguzari).[62]

Taking an opportunity to express his opinion on some of the question raised by the Supreme Government. Colonel keatinge, the then officiating Chief Commissioner, drafted a memorandum on 2nd November, 1870, in which he challenged the views of his predecessor, J. H. Morris that the former Northwestern system in the district was suited to its circumstances.[63] He held that under the former settlement the native staff in Nimar was brought from the Bombay Presidency. The people, being neighbour to it were known of the Bombay system. On the contrary they were ingnorant of the Northwestern system. He also remarked that at one stage when the British officers commenced the settlement operations on the Southern boundary of the district, they were; "driven from the ground with sticks and stones". and the work was to be carried into under the protection of a considerable military force. He supported Captain Forsyth's observations that the 'malguzari' right were unknown in the district and that the cultivators enjoyed the privileges of proprietary rights. In other words the complete 'ryotwari' system existed in the district.

Commenting upon the Governments decision in favour of superior proprietary rights, Colonel Keatinge said that only a "ready peasant proprietor" and "ready made village manager" would be recognized. It would also "revolutionize everything", for it would "slowly but certainly reduce the pessantry to the condition of tenants at will", and would "substitute for the one village manager a number of needy proprietors squabbling amongst themselves and rack-renting the real cultivators of the soil".[64] He was of the opinion that the whole set up would be disturbed with the introduction of superior proprietary rights.

He, therefore, strongly urged the government to pursue the following course;

"Confirm Captain Forsyth's settlement, except inasmuch as it contemplates the translation of village manager into village proprietor, the emoluments and privilage which have been assigned to him are not into too liberal to secure the full exercise of his self-interest in promoting the welfare of the community.

"Leave with the manager the full responsibility of collecting the government demand, and the most complete control over all land thrown out or cultivation during the settlement, but do not make it a part of his interests to keep the old cultivators perpetually on the move, and so prevent their securing by long possession inferior proprietary right. By retaning him a manager only, leave with government the necessary authority of controlling the subdivision of his payment as manager."[65]

Colonel Keatinge, while attention to the whole of the province generally, observed that in the southern portion of it, the cultivators preferred change of cultivation. Hence, in his opinion, the result of introducing 'superior proprietory rights' into these districts of this part would be that "at the next settlement, in spite of the benevolent intentions of the government, the land be held by village proprietors and tenants-at-will only, the former having the strong hand of the law on their side."[66]

The propositions laid down were of so vital importance that Colonel Keatings was invited to Calcutta to explain personally his views regarding Nimar. He thereupon attended the Council on the 20th January, 1871, where he proposed the following remedial measures:

"I That Act X of 1859, with regard to the application of which to this district there was some doubt, should be difinitely declared not to have any force there,

II That the settlement with the so called proprietors should be confirmed only on the following conditions:

(1) That (except on the 'patelki' lands or their own private holdings) they shall not take from any cultivator, old or new, more than the assessment fixed on the land;

(2) That they shall oust no cultivator except for non-payment of the assessment;

(3) That when new land is taken up with their consent, the new cultivators shall not be required to pay more on the new land than the average rates of the pargana,"[67]

However, the Government of India asked for certain explanations as the expediency to give effect to the modifications referred above, particularly how would the 'patels' be engaged for general management of the villages, and how the upgradation of tenant under the Act X of 1859.[68] The Chief Commissioner, thereupon, forwarded a report by W. B. Jones who observed that the proprietary rights of cultivators could better be protected if the 'patels' were made to accept that they would bind themselves not to enhance the rents, once fixed, for the term of the settlement. He pointed out that the entire sum assessed, fixed as payable by cultivators, should be considered as Government revenue, and the 'patel' be given a percentage of this assessment in lieu of his responsibility to collect government revenue.[69]

Morris, immediately after resuming the office of Chief Commissionership in July, 1872, objected to the proposed weakening of hereditary to the solomn pledge given by the government earlier in 1864, He also asserted that the 'patels', who were given 'sanads' during last few years, should be recognized at par with the superior proprietors. However, in a further communication Morris favoured least drastic measures for remedying the defects in the settlement.[70]

The Governor-General-in-Council vide his thinking on similar modifications in he Chanda settlement, vide his Resolution number 265 dated 21st June 1875 finally resolved in favour of hereditary tenants, and ordered for the changes to be brought out in both the districts.

B. Chanda

Still stronger a controversy of opinions broke out when Major Lucie Smith's report on the settlement of the Chanda District was submitted to the Government of India in October, 1870,[71] Smith was all out advocating the cause of 'ryotwari' settlement system and thereby he had stressed upon the point that the cultivators had stronger claims over the land than the village headmen. According

to him under the Gond rule the tenure of this tract had been 'ryotwari', each village having a 'patel; or 'muqaddam', who collected the rents for government, but had no proprietary rights beyond the rent-free holding which was assigned for his remuneration.[72] The Marathas continued the same system, but made the demands on the 'ryots' through the 'muqaddam' more multifarious and more exacting. The greed and fraud of the Maratha administration "inflicted irreparable wrong on thousand of individuals. impoverished and demoralised the people generally, and prove to the district the darkest period it has known."[73]

Thus, the 'patel' or 'muqaddam' had lost ground of his proprietary rights by an incessant deprivation of their privileges during the Maratha rule. On the other hand, cultivators of long standing enjoyed greater privileges on their holding.

Under these circumstances it would have been the policy of the British Government, who took over the lands in 1853, to respect and recognize the uninterrupted claims of the cultivators. But the Commissioner of Nagpur, Colonel Elliot, favoured 'malguzar, who were in a great majority absentee—landlords, to be superior proprietors. This he made in 1860, and orders of the supreme Government confirmed his proposals.[74] Thus, the title of 'patel' was altered into "the hitherto unknown designation of 'malguzars', and with the adoption of this name from the Northwestern Province grow up the opinion that the tenure under the two administrations (of Marathas) was as similar in substance as in name."[75] Consequently, the cultivator was deemed to pay rent, and not revenue. In 1864, the extension of Act X of 1859, placed thousands ryots, "for the first time in the long history of Chanda, at the mercy of the 'malguzars.'[76]

Since, the regular settlement of 1863 also declared the proprietary rights in the hands of the 'malguzars', and the cultivators had in many cases, stronger claims to that right Major Smith proposed the following conditions should be annexed to the gift of proprietary right in 'malguzari' estates—

"I. The sale or transfer of a 'malguzari' village shall be subject to the approval of the Deputy Commissioner.

II. In the event of 'malguzar' wishing to sell the village, the resident cultivators shall have the right to purchase the name in

preference to all other persons. The price to be paid by them shall be that offered by the highest bidder, provided that the aggregate of the value of the permanent improvements effected by the selling 'malguzar' at his own cost subsequent to the declaration of the existing demand, and ten times the amount of that demand, shall be deemed the maximum price which they shall be called upon to pay.

III. The malguzarship or executive charge of the village shall be held by one person, the malguzar' for the time being.

IV. The 'malguzar', in the case of grave misconduct, shall be liable to be removed by the local Government, and if such removal be ordered, the succession shall take place as if the 'malguzar' removed had died."[77]

Bernard and Morris strongly opposed the observations made by Major Smith in his report and then supported the theory that the position of middle-man was much stronger during the earlier rules. According to Bernad, from the beginning of the Nineteenth century the position of 'patel' as head-man, grew more definitely with the rights of farming land and collecting the land revenue. Morris supported the statement, and added that the 'patel' were men of authority when the province came under British rule and it was not the British policy to disturb a system which had grown up gradually and existed for many years. He was of the opinion that "to revert to ancient system and change the whole framework of the land tenure, would have resulted in creating much confusion, and would have done injustice to large class of people.[78]

The controversy deepened the moment a dafence was forwarded by the Under Secretary and transmitted on wards to the Governor-General.[79] The matter further got complicated among the members of the Governor-General's Council. Except Sir Bichard-Temple, the thre other members were uniformly supporting the Governer-General's interpretation of reconsidering the proprietary rights in Chanda. But Bichard Temple, though all alone was equally admantly emphasizing the principle of superior proprietary rights.[80]

In support of Lucie Smith's stand Colonel Keatinge advanced ahead and recommended the same remedial measures for the Chanda district, which he had already proposed for the Nimar district.[81] In the ensuing controversy the matter further got struck

when Sir Richard Temple imposed a condition that before sending a final order to the Chief Commissioner, his report should be obtained on certain questionable issues. On the issue of the tenant rights in the district he was of the opinion that they could he protected by impossing the condition of fixed rent only. He further objected to the 15 per cent proposal and exclaimed that it would 'simply revolutionize the settlement and alter the whole land revenue of the district."[82]

Despite all these hectice efforts the decision in favour of Chanda re-settlement was issued in the form of a memorandum which was still not presented the final forms. The spirit of the memorandum contained the issues of.

a. the sum assessed on cultivators be called revenue in place of rent;

b. 'malguzars' be remunerated 15% of the revenue along with some interests in the waste lands; and

c. 'malguzars' be always present either in or around their villages.[83]

The above tentative recommendations were examined thoroughly by Colonel Keatinge in the light of the suggestions made by W. G. Peddar, the then Commissioner of Nagpur. The principal suggestions made by Peddar were as follows:

(a) To maintain to the ryot his ancient right of occupancy so long as he paid a fair rent.

(b) To enforce from 'malguzars' the performance of their duty as heads of villages.

(c) To prevent forced transfers of land under process of the civil courts.

(d) To reserve the right of the Government to modify the system by which rents and assessment are fixed on a revision of the settlement.

(e) Subject to the adove conditions, to make as little change as possible in the status and in the profits, existing and prospective, of those with whom the settlement was made.[84]

Pedder also proposed that there would be two classes of ryots—

(1) 'ryots' at fixed rates, and (2) 'ryots' at conditional rates, The rents of the 1st class were to be fixed for the term of the settlement. The rents of the 2nd class might be incressed under certain circumstances. 'Ryots' of both the classes would not have power to sell or alienate their lands. On the contrary, the 'malguzars' would be given rights of inheritence, partition and sale of their estate in the similar spirit as had been accepted in other parts of the Gentral Provinces. Finally he requested that the settlement of 24 villages, in which proprietary right had not been conferred on any one, should be settled 'ryotwari' on the Berar system.[85]

When Morris resumed his office in July, 1872, he also expressed his opinions on the subject. He agreed with beth Feddar and Colonel Keatinge to maintain 'malguzari' settlement in the district. He expressed that the Government's desire while conferring upon proprietary rights on 'malguzars' was to carry out the measure "without prejudice". Thus in making a settlement the Government. "did wrong to no man, took from on one any right that he possessed, and voilated no ancient custom.[86] He however, suggested some minor modifications to Peddar's proposls regarding rents of tenants, partition and 'sanada' of 'malguzari' estates and also adposed the proposal to settle the 24 villages on the ryotwari system. In short, he favoured less drastic measure for remedying the defects in the settlement, as he considered the government bound in good faith by he promises already given.

After such a long discussion, the Resolution regarding the mode of settlement in the Chanda district was passed on 21st June, 1895.[87]

It was decided, however, not to withdraw the gift once made but the terms of it enabled the government sufficiently to secure the ryots. Since the gift of proprietary right was admittedly without prejudice to the rights of others. Therefore, the position of the 'malguzars' would be "so defined as not to French on the right of other classes, who, by custom, have claims which at first were not sufficiently understood, but which further experience has shown must be recognised if the settlement is to be satisfactorily worked."[88]

Under the resolution it was ultimately agreed upon that all village tenant should be granted the occupancy rights,[89] except the tenants on the 'malguzars' holdings. A regares the partition of estates among shareholders the government would not object to it. But the village could not be subject to perfect partition, i.e., so as to separate the revenue responsibility, without the Chief Commissioner's consent. Similarly, absolute occupancy could not transfer or mortgage their holdings without consent of the landlord, except to a cosharer by inheritence, or to a person on whom the holding would descend on their death.[90]

Certain principles were also laid down for the allotment of waste lands in the district. Generally the proprietor was given the right to the waste, subject to rights of use by the tenants. Resident cultivators of three years standing were not to be charged a rent of highest rate for occupancy tenants. Other cultivators occupying wastes could settle their own terms with 'malguzar'. But "if they entered without leases they would be deemed to hold on customery tenure."[91]

Finally, the fate of the 'sanad' holders was also decided. From among the members of the family of 'sanad' holde and their descendents, one or more persons were selected to fill the offices of 'patel'. The 'patel' was to enjoy an allowance of 15 per cent on the gross—rental of the village.[92]

The secretary of state, the Marquis of Salisbury concurred the view of the "grievous mistake" of the past proceedings, and in the arrangements proposed to remedy them. In his Despatch of April 1876, with reference to the Government of India's Resolution, he remarked; it is a matter of great regret that it is now too late to cancel entirely what had been done. He desired it to be clearly understood than the existing principle of settlement is maintained by government only on account of the pledges that have been given, and not from any conviction of its expediency, that every opportunity should be taken, consistently with good faith, of diminishing the area over which it operates; and that so far from throwing obstacles in the way of any 'malguzars' who may wish to resign their tenure, it will be right and proper to give them every facility for reverting to 'patelki."[93]

Thus, in Nimar and Chanda, the position of tenants as a whole was put on a different footing from the rest of the province, and the status of the whole class of cultivators was protected. This measure, therefore, can be regarded as the turning point in the history of the 'malguzari' settlement in the Central Provinces, as it had definitely turned the tide in favour of cultivators, which was also later on admitted by Sir C. P. Ilbert, who remarked:

> All the land in Nimar and practically all the land in Chanda appears, from recent returns, to be held either by tenants who are described either as absolute or as conditional occupancy tenants."[94]

C. Sambalpur

Unlike Nimar and Chanda, the district of Sambalpur did not pass through the settlement operations so as to arrive at certain conclusions regarding the proprietary and tenant rights. The reason was that since 1857, Sambalpur had been in a state of disturbance under a local leader—Surendar Sahi—and his brothers who set up claims to the throne. Therefore, attention was diversed to restoring order than to prosecuting settlement operations. Thus, a delay occurred, during which, a change of feeling in favour of the 'ryotwari' system took place.

It is pointed out here that Richard Temple, in his spirit to extend the proprietary principle throught the Central Provinces, had issued orders in 1862 to the effect that the 'gaontias' were to be constituted proprietors the villages; the ryots were to be give rights of occupancy; village areas were to be measured; the 'gaontias' 'bhogra' or home-farm was to be assessed to revenue; and settlement be made accordingly, Subsequently, on the 13 October, 1862 a proclamation was issued and the terms of the settlement were addressed to the assembly of 'gaontias' in a 'darbar' held at Sambalpur on the 9th March 1863.[95] However, the preliminary operations of survey and measurement were discontinued due to renewed disturbances in the district and were not resumed until 1868, when a special officer was deputed to report as to the system which could best be followed. From this point controversy regarding proprietary and tenancy tenures began.

The principle issues were regarding the priecise positions of the 'gaontias' and the cultivators. Regarding the first point, Major Impey, the than Deputy Commissioner of Sambalpur, in his memorandum dated the 30 June, 1862, expressed the opinion that the 'geontias' had no prescriptive rights, as it had been ruled in the former settlements. But the hereditary succession and long incumbency were given priority of claim. He, therefore asserted that it was not necessary to resusitate the same, and 'gaontias' should be accepted as farmers or proprietors of villages, provided they consented to pay the decided revenue.[96] Temple, the then Chief Commissioner, accepted the view and ordered for a regular settlement with proprietary rights to the 'gaontias'.

Major Cumberlage, succeeded Major Impey at the end of 1864. The first-two years of his service in Sambalpur were over-burdened with the attempts in quelling out the disturbances, and he could not get an opportunity to look into the settlement operations. By the middle of 1866, when the district was pacified, the Sambalpur settlement again began to attract attention. A special officer, Chisholm was entrusted in 1868 with the job to examine and investigate into the entire matter and submit his report. On enquiry Chisholm found out that the 'gaontias' in comparison to the cultivators should be given the proprietary rights.[97] This opinion was already expressed by late Major Impay. Even George Campbell supported this view point.

Major Cumberlege diagresed from the opinions expressed by the above group of administrators. In the light of certain peculior conditions of Sambalpur and Vagueness of tenants rights, he opined that since the system of division of lands according to the number of 'ryots' existed, many 'ryots' who held lands for generations in certain villages, did not have always the same quantity or the same plot. Hence, their rights of occupancy could not be considered consistent because of the "chopping and changing system." He therefore held that before taking any final decision cultivators should be given proper time to establish their proprietary rights. Charlas Grant too agreed with Major Cumberlege and recommended 20 years breathing time before the final decision.[99]

John Morris, the Chief Commissioner in 1870 issued orders for a summary settlement in Sambalpur on the basis of Chisholm's

report, in which the principles of 'malguzari' settlement were almost accepted. To this decision Cumberlege again raised a voice of protest.[100]

However, Colonel Keatings, Morris's successor came up with a suggestion that the Government should reserve the superior proprietary rights and the 'gaontias' be give only the status of hereditary village managers. In regard to cultivators he sad that they be secured against enhancement and ouster during the period of settlement "as long as he holds possession of the same land, and pays the demand fixed at the time of settlement."[101]

After such a long discussion again, orders were issued in October 1871 and May 1872, by which settlement of Sambalpur was declared to the 'ryotwari'. Accordingly, settlement operations were resumed with a view to make full enquiry into the state of various rights. The settlement was finally reported and approved by the Government of India in 1884. Under this system the 'gaontia' was treated as a village headmen who collected the revenue, and the proprietary rights conferred on him were limited to his 'bhogrs' or home farm. While the ryots on land other than the home farm (on which they were tenants-at-will) became Government ryots, paying the Government "revenue" assessed on their holdings, and not "rent". Ouster was allowed only for non-payment of revenue, and the rights of the 'ryots' were declared heritable, but not transferable.[102]

In this way, the settlements of Nimar, Chanda had Sambalpur districts were confirmed on different principle than those adopted in 1863 for th entire province. though special circumstances of these district warranted special attention for modifications. Yet, the sweeping application of the 'malguzari' settlement, during the course of time, witnessed some of the leading drawbacks of the system. The chief issue although being the tenants rights. The manner in which tenants were classified under different categoris and privileges conferred upon them did not work satisfactorily. The protection afforded to tenants in the past by custom or usage was weakened with the introduction of the new conception of priprietary rights, and at the same time the circumstances of the province had changed fundamentally. Till 1860, the comptition had been that of landlords for tenants and not of tenants for land. Consequently,

landlords had been indifferent to the growth of a claim to occupancy. But as the province opened up by the improvement of communications, and consequet rise in the prices of land, landlords became less inclined to allow occupancy rights to accure and more disposed to make enhancements. This resulted in ousting of a number of cultivators from their ancient holdings. The plight of occupancy tenants and tenants-at-will, who constituted a great majority, had been miserable.

Under these circumstances, the idea that so long as a man paid his rent, he should hold his land eventually was brought forward. As the 'malguzars' right to hold his village had been extended for ever, provided he paid his revenue, so the tenant's occupancy should be similarly extended. The solution of the problem was taken up in the Tenancy Act of 1883, the preparation of which started in 1875.

V. THE TERM OF SETTLEMENT

The issue of the period of the 'malguzari' settlement re-opened again in 1865, when the Government of India suggested to reduce the term for 15 to 20 years instead of 30.[103] The suggested modification posed a problem for the Provincial Government because repeated confirmations to the earlier term of settlement were already made and quite a wide publicity to that effect was equally given under such circumstances the actual problem that came up was a sort of "breach of faith".

The Provincial Government was of the opinion that a definite pledge had already been taken of the decision of the 30 years settlement, and therefore, any modifications to that effect would cause great administrative upsetting, as well as raise a number of grievances by the subjects of the province. The Government of India, on the other hand was of the opinion that discretion lay all the time in its hands and such they were free to impose any modification a and when suited either interests.[104]

This deadlock continued for sometime, but ultimately a compromise formulae was adopted. It was decided that in all those parts where the 30 years settlement had already been operated upon, should not be disturbed and where it was yet to come into operation, the modified term of 20 years be applied.[105]

It is a matter of regret that the government, in spite of the previous pladge infavour of a uniform thirty years term, throught to shortern it. It is further to regret that the seven districts were excluded from the benefit of thirty years terms, simply because of thier non-completion of settlements. Otherwise, Chhattisgarh districts and Chanda, being part of the old Nagpur country and Mandla being part of the old Saugar and Narbada territories, might have been well thought for the maintenance of original term.

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75. C. B. Lucis Smith, op. cit., p. 24.
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80. Ibid., pp. 11-16.
81. Chanda Settlement Correspondence; p. 1.
82. K. W. to Foreign Dept. Rev. A Progs. Sept. 1871, Nos. 11-13; pp. 16-17.

83. Govt. of India, to Chief Commr. No. 315 R, dated 7th Sept. 1871, vide Chanda Settlement Correspondence; pp. 4-8.
84. Ibid., pp. 17-56.
85. Ibid.
86. Ibid., pp. 56-67.
87. Resolution No. 265 dated 21st June 1875, vide, Ibid., pp. 56-57.
88. Ibid.
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6

Origin and Growth of the Pindaris

The Pindaris have been represented as a horde of cruel marauders who from their headquarters in Central India ravaged and plundered the neighbouring regions as well as some distant areas. They never became an organized political community but, all the same, the uncontrolled position which they came to occupy in the country during the opening years of the nineteenth century, gave them a political significance. Although not a state themselves, they were a scourge to all the other state of Central India. Their object was to secure booty and cash for themselves. In the opinion of Fitzclarence they formed a "diabolical association."[1]

The etymology of the term Pindari is rather obscure and has consequently, given rise to much discussion.[2] Prinsep has tried to connect the world with the Pandour[3] of Campbell's lines in the "Pleasures of Hope"—

"When leagued oppression pour'd to Northern wars

Her whiskered pandoors and her fierce hussars"[4] and he has come to the conclusion that "Pindara seems to have the same reference to Pandour that Kuzak has to Cossack."[5]

In Hobson Jobson we came across the following three derivatives of the word Pindari.[6]

(i) From *pendha*, a drink for cattle and men prepared from holcus sorghum, the allusion being to a particular class of dissolute men who were addicted to this drink. It is probably upon this that Malcolm has based his conjecture that the word (Pindari) has been

derived from an intoxicant called "Pindia"[7] to which the Pindaris were addicted. The famous Pindaru chief Karim Khan and even Major Henley, who was deputed to work out the settlement of the Pindris after military operations against them have coroborated this conclusion of Malcolm.[8] This derivation has also been adopted by the Madras Manual of Administration. As for the seed or grain referred to from which a drink is prepared Irvine is of opinion that it may be the indigofera linifolia (Retz), which is called *pandhari pati* in Bombay and *pandhi* in Nasik. The seed is said to be eaten in the time of scarcity.

(ii) From *pendhâ,* a bundle of straw, and *hara,* one takes, the men having been originally collectors of forage. This second explanation is found in Wilson's Glossary under *Pendhârâ.*[11] According to him it is a compound of too Marathi words *pendha* meaning a bundle of grass and *hârâ* meaning one who takes. But Sardesai has observed that "the etymology of the word *Pendhâ* or *Pendhar* is doubtful. It means a body of stragglers, equivalent to Bunga or Bazar Bunga of the regular armies."[12]

(iii) From *pind parna*[13] that is, to follow, to stick closely to any one. This suggestion appears to be rather fanciful, because it does not correspond to the nature of activities of the Pindaris.

In addition to these, there are a few more suggestions which we may consider—

(iv) Balfour has suggested that the term Pindari or Pindhari has been taken from the name of the Bedar tribe.[14] In his opinion, "It is from this race, the Bandara Wantu of the Telag, that the name Pindara comes."[15] There is no doubt about the existence of the Bedar, race, which according to Hunter's Gazetteer of India, were found in Chitaldrug district of Mysore and ruled over a small tract named Sandur. But Bedar cannot be accepted as a derivation of Pindari or Pindhari because as late as 1748 both the words Bedar and Pindhari have been used in one sentence by Ram Singh Munshi in his book "Gulshan-i-ajâib" (Letters of Nizamulmulk), complied about 1748. The passage runs thus—"Mufsdan-i-Bedarwa Pandharha in Makan (i.e. Atnur) ra wiqayah-i-Khud Sakhah" (The turbulent men of Bedar and Bedgar and landhars have made this

place into their refuge), Here the two names have been used side by side to denote two different bodies. Hence the one cannot be supposed to be derived from the other.

(v) From *Pindârâ (pind,* lump of food, *ara*, the bringer) a plunderer, pillager (among the Marathas). It occurs in Shakespeare's Version of Dictionary Hindusthani and English. But it appears to be even less worthy of acceptance because it involves the hybrid result of joining a Persian affix *ara* to purely Sanskrit root *pind.* Irvine has, therefore rightly remarked that "it is no more than idle guessing of no scientific value, about on a par with Zephaniah Holwell's derivation of Begam, the Turkish feminine of Beg, a lord, said by him to be from Be, without gham or grief."[18]

(vi) Another solution of the term Pindarrah has been offered in the Pindari Papers.[19] There it has been said to be a compound of two Hindi words *Paiend,* a road and the verb *Aroo,* to shut up. This probably refers to a body of persons who used to block the roads. But the modus operandi of the Pindaris was quite different. Hence this explanation also does not go far to satisfy us.

(vii) The most probable solution comes from Irvine. According to him the word Pindari (or more strictly Pindhari) comes from a place or region called *Pandhar* or *Pandhar.* In his opinion the word has been formed by adding to this place-name the *Yae—nisbat* or the "Y" of conjunction. Thus the word Pindari means "a man belonging to or coming from the region called Pandhar."[20]

In order to justify the above conjecture regarding the origin of the word Pindari, it is necessary to prove that there existed a region called Pandhar and that the Pindaris had some special connection with that region. Irvine has proved the existence of the region called Pandhar on the authority of Bhim Sen's *Nuskhah-i-dilkushâ*— a place somewhere between Burhanpur and Hindia on the Narbada. This region now includes Nemawar and Hoshangabad. The connection of the Pindaris with the above region is proved on the authority of Prinsep who says that in 1794 the Pindaris had obtained lands in the valley of Narbada.[21] This has also been corroborated by Fitzclarence according to whom "in 1794 a large community of the Pindaris was settled on the Nerbudda."[22]

Thus we can safely agree with Irvine's conclusion that the region of Pandhar was the original home of the Pindaris and that they took their name from it.[23]

The origin of the Pindaris is involved in some obscurity. In the opinion of Bladensburg the Pindaris originally were Hindu outlaws, who frustrated the efforts of Aurangzeb to suppress them and added their strength to that of Shivaji.[24] As the empire of Aurangzeb crumbled to pieces, so did they arise in fresh force, and converting themselves into an organized banditti became the terror and scourge of the country. Jenkins, however, holds that they were of Rohilla or Pathan extraction.[25] The earliest ancestors of the Pindaris were formerly settled in the district about Bijapur in the Deccan.[26] Bladensburg has failed to prove that the Pindaris were of Hindu origin. On the other hand, from the genealogy of the earliest Pindaris we have stronger reasons to believe that they were of Pathan extraction or at least, not of Hindu origin.

The Pindaris who first settled in Central India may be said to have been introduced by the Marathas under whose service they entered after the dissolution of the "last Muslim dynasties of the Deccan."[27] They had been employed to accompany the Bheenee Wallah (Quartermaster General) on his foraging parties, and to assist in supplying the bazar with grain, besides performing other services of a plundering body suited to the maxims of a predatory warfare.[28]

The Pindaris are said to have descended from two Afghans named Mohammad Khan and Samad Khan of the Yusufzai tribe.[29] Their ancestors, inhabitants of Rohilkhand, had joined Peshwa Baji Rao I near Kalpi.[30] Muhammad Khan and Samad Khan are reported to have distinguished themselves in the service of the Peshwa, who placed great confidence in them particularly in the former after the death of Samad Khan who was killed in Rajewara.[31] But nothing further is known about them.

A more detailed and connected account has been provide by Tod in the Pindari Papers. According to him, the earliest account of the Pindaris is found in the first-half of the seventeenth century. In Sambat 1690 (1933 A. D). Nusru,[32] a Muslim of the Tulaye or Turaye tribe, was employed under Shahji, the father of the illustrious

Shivaji, as a *Bildar* and was attached to the *Jinsi* or Park of artillery. After a long period of service he rose to be a Jemadar of Bildars and in this situation he died leaving a son named Chikni,[33] who succeeded his father as Jemadar in his post. Chikni was survived by a son named Ghaziuddin Khan.[34] The Sahu Raja had committed the administration of his affairs into the hands of Peshwa Baji Rao I. Gaziuddin with some horsemen under him was at that time serving in the army of Baji Rao and in 1730 he obtained the village of Sutpura in 'enam' (reward).[35] Ghaziuddin had accompanied Malhar Rao Halkar whom Baji Rao had sent on an expedition to Malwa.[36] He was killed in the battle that ensued for the annexation of Ujjain.[37] Ghaziuddin left two sons—Gardi Khan and Shahbaz Khan.

The eldest son Gardi Khan succeeded to the post of his father. Malhar Rao increased the number of his horses for the express purpose of plundering, laying waste the country and cutting off the supplies of his enemy.[38] Gardi Khan performed this task with such credit that Malhar Rao rewarded him with a golden flag.[39] It was this distinction which first gave the Pindaris importance as a body among the Marathas. Thus from obscurity the Pindaris rose into sufficient consequence to be deemed useful auxiliaries by the Marathas whose desultory mode of warfare was suited to their predatory habits.

Gardi Khan accompanied Malhar Rao in his expeditions and remained attached to him throughout his life.[40] The action of the group of persons that he commanded were blended with those of the Marathas. He also died at Ujjain leaving a son Lal Muhammad and a grandson Imambaksh.[41] The exact date of has death is not known.

Shahbaz Khan, the younger brother of Gardi Khan, remained in the place of his birth at Miragong near Poona.[42] On arriving at a mature age he was taken into the service of Ranoji Sindhia as a *Bargir.*[43] Shortly after he succeeded in winning the favour of his patron and was given the command of a body of horse. Shahbaz attended Ranoji on an expedition into Hindusthan and was killed in an action in about 1744 near Tonk (in Jaipur). He left behind two sons—Hiru and Burun who became very important Pindari leaders.

Although these lineal descendants of the Pindari founders were then chiefs of note, they by no means possessed the same powers as their ancestors, because by this time a number of other and more able as well as more enterprising leaders had come to the fore. The camp of Hiru descended upon his sons Dost Muhammad and Wasil Muhammad. The Camp of Burun, after he was made a prisoner was transferred to a leader named Dubla Jemadar,[44] at whose death Burun's son Rajan became the nominal head; but the real authority devolved upon a bolder chief named Chity, who raised himself by his energy and enterprise to the principal command.[45] Burun's other son Dadu Baksh did not succeed to any authority probably because of his incapability to lead the *durrah* (camp). He, therefore, took to cultivation in a village near Bhopal.[46]

By this time one very important development had taken place among the Pindaris. They became divided into two camps—the Holkarshahi and the Sindhiashahi. Those Pindari chiefs an their followers who had been brought up by the Holkar family came to be known as the Holkarshahi Pindaris and those maintained by the Sindhia were called Sindhiashahi Pindaris. Both these groups generally adhered to their respective patrons but it was not uncommon for them to change from one party to another.[47] Most prominent among the Holkar Shahji Pindaris were—Kadir Baksh (son of Munu), Imam Baksh, Tuku, Gulab Khan, Khan, and Bappu Khan. The most prominent Sindhiashahi Pindaris[48] were—Karim Khan, Chitu, Dost Muhammad, Kadir Baksh (son of Burun), Wasil Muhammad and Khushal Kuer.[49] The Sindhiashahi Pindaris used to keep contact with Holkar, and the Holkarshahi maintained relations with the Sindhia. Chitu, for example, was on one occasion said to be negotiating with Bhonsla, to obtain some grant of lands for the Holkarshahi Pindaris.[50]

The entire territory of the Pindaris was situated to the north of the river Narbada, extending from the west of the possessions of the ruler of Sorger, along its banks, to the north of what little country remained to the Nawab of Bhopal. It maximum length was a hundred miles, an its breadth, including the Panj Mahals (five districts) at some places, forty miles.[51] Most of these territories and possessions had accrued to them as grants from the various Maratha

chiefs. These Maratha chiefs granted jagirs to the Pindari leaders as a reward for their services rendered to them when hose Maratha chiefs fought among themselves or attacked any third power. In course of time when the power of these chiefs declined and the Pindaris started making depredations in their country, then at times they, with a view to word off the menace, granted jagirs to the Pindri chiefs. In the year 1730 Baji Rao Peshwa had granted the village of Sutpura in 'enam' (reward) to Ghaziuddin, the grandson of the earliest known Pindri, Nusru for his services to the Maratha army.[52] In 1735 Ghaziuddin obtained another jagir in the district of Canouge on the Narbada for accompanying Malhar Rao on his expedition into Hindusthan.[53] Later Mahadji Sindhia bestowed on Hiru and Burun (the sons of Shahbaz Khan) the pargana of Sutwas on the Narbada in jagir.[54] In the third battle of Panipat the Pindaris fought on the side of the Marathas and hereafter they remained attached to the fortunes of the latter.[55] As a result of this they must have drawn from the Maratha chiefs more rewards in the shape of jagirs. That is why we find that by 1794 a large community of the Pindaris had settled on the Narbada.[56]

Karim Khan, a noted leader of the Pindaris, plundered the territories of Nagpur and Bhopal an settled at Bhopal in the service of Nawab Hayat Muhammad Khan, who gave him the pargana of Bhounrassa, Jhurkhira, Hurrungaon and Wuljamul.[57] At Jhurkhira he built the fort called Karimgarh.[58] Besides these lands he had other advantages in Bhopal, particularly that of lodging his family and valuables in some of the strongholds when he was away with his followers.[59]

During the troubles of the Maratha empire consequent upon the war with the British (1803-5), Karim Khan availed himself of the opportunity to seize some possessions of the Sindhia and of the Peshwa's Jagirdars in Malwa[60] and by 1807 we find Karim in possession of a pretty extensive and well-cultivated tract along with several stronghold well-garrissoned and a regular system of authority.[61] The following districts were in possession of Karim[62] in 1815:—Dora (given by Daulat Rao Sindhia), Bairsea (from Punwar chief of Dhar), Chipaneir, Karimgarh, and Beechea (from Nawab of Bhopal), Sihore, Ashta, Shujawalpur, and Itchawar (from Jagirdars

of the Peshwa) and Sarungpur and Khokria (from the Sindhia and independent chiefs). The whole produced about 15 lakhs of rupees annually and was capable of producing even more.[63]

Another Pindri leader named Chitu, who professed allegiance to Daulat Rao Sindhia often attacked the latter's territories. Hence a treaty was concluded between the Sindhia and the Pindari chief who agreed to refrain from the Plunder.[64] The Sindhia, on his part, consented to cede to them lands for their subsistence and Chitu received grants of five districts called Panj Mahals—Nemawar, Tallein, Sutwas, Kilchipur and the tribute of Rajgarh. In addition to these the following places were also occupied by his *durrah*—Hurringaon, Gopalpur, Kantifur, Uchonda, Sudelpur, Tomri and Kumnas, their principal station being at Nemawar.[65]

Kadir Baksh (whose father Burun, along with Hiru, though in the Sindhia's service were for sometime employed by the Raja of Berar) had received from the Raja of Berar as Jagir the two Parganas of Pulwa and Bumri, near Chomagarh, on the northern side of the Narbada, valued at rupees one and a half lakh per annum.[66] This took place sometime before Burun was seized by the Raja in 1799.

The *durrah* of Wasil Muhammad held the following places and adjoining lands[67]—Bagrode, Damnode, Tunde, Russulpur, Pakrone, Serwasse, Karewye, Udipur and Gunge Bassouda. Jenkins has given three accounts regarding the value of jagirs held by the Pindaris at the end of 1811. The total revenue according to the first account stood at Rs. 19,57,000, according to the second at Rs. 8,35,000 and according to the third at Rs. 12,00,000.[68]

FIRST ACCOUNT

Sindhiashahi

Chitu and Rajans hold lands to the account of	Rs. 4,62,000
Dost Muhammad	Rs. 1,95,000
Karim Khan	Rs. 13,00,000
Total revenue	Rs. 19,57,000

No account of Holkarshahi Pindaris available.

SECOND ACCOUNT

Revenue of Sindhiashahi	Rs. 5,87,000
Revenue of Dost Muhammad	Rs. 1,08,000
Total revenue of Jagirs and Lands held by the Sindhiashai	Rs. 6,95,000
Revenue of Holkarshahi	Rs. 1,40,000
Total revenue of both parties	Rs. 8,35,000

THIRD ACCOUNT

Karim Khan	Rs. 7,00,000
Chitu	Rs. 3,00,000
Dost Muhammad	Rs. 1,00,000
Total of Sindhaishahi	Rs. 11,00,000
Imam Baksh and Kadir Baksh hold from Holkar	Rs. 1,00,000
Total revenue of both parties	Rs. 12,00.000

At that time Chitu was in possession of Supaner, which then commanded an important ghat of the Narbada of that name between Hindia and Hoshangabad.[69] The other places which he held were Pipulia, Kathapore, in the neighbourhood of Sutwas, which earlier belonged to the Sindhia. On the south of Narbada he held Sinagpore Barra which he had received from the Raja of Berar[70] yielding a revenue of Rs. 1,50,000 per annum[71] and some other places from Bhonsla. He had besides the Five Mahals, Arone and Shadhaura to the northward of Seronje, lately granted by the Sindhia. The Ranjans were in possession of Turanoa and Kytha belonging to Holkar in the vicinity of Ujjain.[72]

Prior to 1813 the total revenue of lands held by Chitu from the Sindhia, the Raja of Berar and the Nawab of Bhopal was between

three and five lakhs of rupees,[73] but in the middle of 1813 the Sindhia ordered his commander Jean Baptiste to resume some of his grants, which the latter did. All the some, the following jagirs continued to remain in possession of Chitu from the Sindhia—the districts of Sutwas, Rajur and half of Nemawar, yielding a revenue of Rs. 1,25,000.[74] In 1812 Dost Muhammad obtained Pudkare belonging to Decree in Jagir from Wazir Muhammad, the Nawab of Bhopal.[75] Again, in 1813 Dost Muhammad obtained a grant Saugor for Rs. 50,000 as a recompence for his co-operation with the Sindhia's troops in reducing Appa Khande Rao.[76]

In 1814 Dost Muhammad was in possession of the following jagirs yielding a total revenue of Rs. 2,50,000[77]—Bagrode, Dhamoda, Gunge Bassouda Arun, Sarora, Silwani, Belwani, Chunowtea and Cheontea.

In addition to this, Dost Muhammad possessed two forts—one at Bagrode constructed on a small hill, without any ditch and rather unsuitable for defence purpose and the other at Dhamode, a short distance east of Bagrode, but still smaller and more defenceless than the former.[78] Dos Muhammad had also an eye upon the district of Rehly but when he failed to obtain the some from Vinayak Rao the manager of Saugor district, he attacked the Saugor country with a view to impel Vinayak Rao to acquiesce in the above demand. Later Vinayak Rao is reported to have entered into an engagement with Wasil Muhammad (brother of Dost Muhammad) according to which the former promised to pay Rs. 22,000 to spare the country of Saugor from devastation.[79] Tuku Jemadar held lands from the Sindhia which yielded a revenue of rupees eighteen lakhs per annum.[80]

In 1814 the principal stations of the Pindaris were as follows.[81]

Name of station:	*Their distance from Hindia and other details*
To the Westward:	
1. Sutwas	9 coss; a fort with 6 guns and 100 matchlockmen; water from a tank; Jagir of Ranjan senior.
2. Katephor	10. coss; mud fort and nullah.
3. Bujwara	18 coss; mud fort with 6 guns and 75 matchlockmen; nullah; Kadir Baksh's Jagir.

4. Kunode	6 coss; well; Tuku's Jagir
5. Ekluhra	4 coss; sahib Khan's Jagir
6. Ashutmoti	7. coss; Sindhia's
7. Chowk Fort	5 coss; on the Narbada; Sindhia's
To the Eastward:	
8. Neela Porwa	10 coss; deserted with a great deal of jungle about it
9. Baglatir ghat	1 coss
To the Northward:	
10. Chupaner	5 coss; 4 guns; 500 infantry; nullah; Chitu's
11. Tumri	10 coss; river: Chitu's
12. Gopalpur	2 coss; nullah and plain; Chitu's
13. Nunnas	4 coss; Stone fort; river; wells; in Tuku's Jagir
14. Chereegaon	6 coss; mud fort; river; Kunjal's Jagir
15. Gungasuri	5 coss; North-East Gassain's temple; country flourishing t the South-ward
16. Julode	4 coss; Narbada; Sindhia's
17. Tummorni	7 coss; Brick fort; 4 guns; 100 Sibundees; wells within the place; Sindhia's
18. Burrungaon	7 coss; Jagir of Holkarshahi
19. Juregaon	18 coss; Ghat; nullah and wells; Sindhia's
20. Uchowda	19 coss; nullah; plain
To the Southward	
21. Churwa	12 coss; mud fort with 4 guns; river; Sindhia's
22. Kharwa	10 coss; fort with 4 guns; 100 sibundees; river; Sindhia's
23. Mowda	16 coss; 100 Sibundees; Holkar's
24. Hurda	
25. Dodumcha	11 coss; 50 sibundees; nullah: Sindhia's
26. Meel Manee	20 coss; Tapti river; a body of Peshwa's troops
27. Mukrace	12 coss; strong walls and 4 guns; 200 sibundees; wells; Sindhia's

The Holkarshahi Pindaris were generally catoned in the vicinity of Kunul and Sohundra.[82]

In 1815 the Sindhia gave Bursea as a jagir to Namdar Khan.[83] This place formerly belonged to the Powar family.[84] In the same year Karim Khan soon after his release completed negotiations with Holkar for obtaining Nursinghgarh an to pay Rs. 10,000 to Meena Bai through whose aid the negotiation had been finalised.[85]

The headquarters of the various Pindari chief were as follows:[86]

Sindhiashahi

Chitu	....	Nemawar
Karim	....	Raisein
Dost Muhammad	....	Guraspur in the neighbourhood of Bhilsa

Holkarshahi

Gardi Khan	...	Kurode
Kadir Baksh	...	Katapur
Sahib Khan and		
Bahadur Khan	...	Eklora

Jenkins has mentioned Sutwas as he headquarters of Chitu and the Ranjans.[87]

The principal fords of the Narbada, leading to the haunts of the Pindaris, were Muddarpore, Gungori and Supaner ghats between Hoshangabad and Hindi and Baglatir to the westward of Hindia.[88]

To the east of Hindia up to Hoshangabad there were the following [89], Kurode, Baglatir and Chirode. But the Narbada was nowhere fordable during the rains.

The total number of boats at the various ghats was about 47.[90]

When we consider the accounts with regard to the places held by the Pindaris and their revenues we find that these statements differ too much to be reconciled. This, however, does not seem to be very material, because even if we had the most correct accounts, they would not be indicative of the strength and resources of the

Pindaris since their lands always constituted but a small part of provision for their subsistence.[91] In the opinion of Malcolm "the revenues of their land were never equal to the maintenance of one-tenth land were never equal to the maintenance of one-tenth part of their numbers."[92] Hence plunder remained the only alternative.

The other thing which occurs to us is that the Pindaris received grants mainly from the Sindhia and Holkar in addition to the Peshwa, the Raja of Nagpur (no grant from the Peshwa or Nagpur Raja since 1803-4) and the chief of Bhopal[93] under the "shortsighted policy of purchasing a temporary and delusive forbearance and by the usurpation and encroachment of the Pindaris on the land of their neighbours."[94]

Another significant point which strikes us in this connections as with regard to their abode. They always made it a point to settle on the banks of the Narbada. The reason for their selection is evident. They considered themselves safe in the deep ravines of the Narbada where they could hide themselves in case of their being attacked by any one.

The number* of the Pindaris grew rapidly as time passed. According to Sydenham their number did not exceed 10,000[95] men at the time of the death of Hiru and Burun (in about 1800 A. D.) In 1804 when Malcolm was at the Sindhia's headquarters, he had estimated the Pindaris (Sindhiashahi) at about 10,000 men out of which 6,000 were admirably mounted.[96] The number of the Holkarshahi Pindaris was about one-third[97] of the number of the Sindhiashahi Pindaris. Thus the number of Pindaris in 1804 was nearly 13,000 containing 7 or 8,000 good horse.[98] In 1809 they were estimated at 24,550 of whom 14,000 were good cavalry.[99] In 1810 their number stood at 20,000[100] and in 1811 it grew to about 26,000[101] with a like proportion of good horse. In the following year (1812) it was 21,000[102]. A slightly different account of their number under their various chiefs has been supplied by the acting Magistrate of Mirzapur. According to him the total number of the Pindaris in 1812 stood at 21,500[103]. The reason for this minor difference in their number appears to be that the account given by the acting Magistrate of Mirzapur is based on the deposition of Dhanna Pindari who was captured on the occasion of their raid on Mirzapur district in March,

1812. This Dhanna was neither a leader nor a solider, but was a mere servant in the raiding party. Naturally, therefore, details of information collected from him may not be correct in every respect.

We get a still different account of the number of the Pindris in the Memoranda relative to the Pindaris prepared by Jenkins while he was the Resident at the court of the Raja of Berar in the year 1812. He has given three accounts* regarding their number. According to the first account their total number was 35,903, according to the second 26,500 and according to the third it was 23,800.[104] If we examine these three accounts with regard to the number of the Pindari we find that these numbers differ within a margin of 4-5000. The reason is not far to seek. On account of their elusive character it was very difficult to obtain correct information of the position and the numbers of the Pindaris.[105]

In 1814 the relative strength of the Sindhiashahi and Holkarshahi Pindaris were about 22,700 and 7,500 respectively.[106] But according to Blacker in 1814 the number of the Sindhiashahi Pindaris was 19,300 and that of the Holkarshahi branch was 3,200.[107] According to a still different source the total number of the Pindaris in 1814 stood at 37,000.[108] In 1817 their number stood at 30,000—15,000 foot and 20 guns.[109] McNaghten believes their number to be near about 60,000 of all descriptions.[110] From the above figures it would appear that there was a rapid increase in their number after 1805. This phenomenon can be attributed to the following causes. In the first place the Pindaris got territories in reward for their services to the various Maratha princes. In addition to this the irregular soldier of India who had looked upon war as their profession for so many years, did not find employment during the long peace since 1803. They, however, "despising an agricultural life."[111] hastened to swell the ranks of the Pindaris. Moreover, the Maratha powers in consequence of their defeat in 1803 and subsequently in 1805, had not the means to check this new confederacy, which had become to these states a dangerous neighbour.

Besides, throughout the greater part of the territories of the various powers of Central India, the husbandman was seldom permitted to reap the fruits of his labours.[112] His fields were laid

waste, his cottage reduced to ashes. So he had no alternative but that of joining the standard of some lawless chief. Thus the Pindaris were fed and nourished by the very miseries they created, for as their predatory invasions extended, property became insecure, and those who were ruined by their depredations were afterwards compelled to have recourse to a life of violence, as the only means of subsistence left to them. They joined the stream which they could not withstand and endeavoured to redeem their own losses by plunder of others. As a result of this the number of the Pindaris increased "in the same ratio as the means of subsistence diminished."[114]

Moreover, as Thorton has pointed out the Indian princes were never serupulous about the means of accomplishing their purposes, thought not only high feeling but even sound policy could have led to the rejection of the services of the Pindaris. They were in various instances, retained by what were regarded as regular governments.[115] These Indian powers employed them in attacking one another and thus extending their influence or dominions. The services which they rendered were all of one description. They consisted in crippling the enemy of their employees by plundering his baggage or his convoys, driving off cattle from the vicinity of his camp, and desolating the country from which his supplies were to be drawn.[116]

Again, the existence of these large bands of freebooters held out an encouragement to all the disaffected and the turbulent.[117] It threw out an open invitation to all kinds of anti-social elements as a result of which every vagbond who had a horse and a sword readily joined them. In the words of Sydenham "every villain who escapes from his creditors, who is expelled from the community for some flagrant crime, who has been discarded from employment, or who is disgusted with an honest and peaceable life, flies to Hindoostan, and enrols himself amongst the Pindarries."[118]

The increase in their numbers is the natural consequence of their extended territorial establishment and especially of the momentous change in the condition of the states of India, produced by the operation of subsidiary alliance and as a result of the Maratha war.[119] Since the days of Wellesley when the old Maratha system had almost collapsed, the numerous Maratha cavalry could no longer be employed usefully by the state. Deprived of their accustomed

sources of sibsistance, they swelled the ranks of these freebooters. Their number grew as one Indian state after another passed under British protection. The non-interference policy of Minto and the decline of the Maratha powers gave a sudden fillip to the activities of the Pindaris, and created conditions favourable to their rapid growth.[120]

During that unsettled period the authority of the Peshwa and his subordinate chiefs in Malwa and Bundelkhand was slowly dissolving, and in a sullen mood they found it to their advantage to harbour the Pindari hordes and encourage their predatory activities.

Thornton has described the Pindaris as a very "contemptible set of miscreants."[121] Active and enterprising almost beyond belief, they are said to have displayed an utter lack of nobler qualities. No redeeming virtue marked the character of the Pindaris.[122] A Pindari* confessed before Malcolm— "Our occupation was incompatible with the fine virtues and qualities you state; an I suppose, if any of our people ever had them, the first effect of such good feeling would be to make them leave our community."[123] There is no doubt that the Pindaris were, like most other men, individually courageous but were all without "regularity or any kind of discipline."[124]

The Pindaris were a collection of persons from various regions and of different castes and religions, brought together from an inability of otherwise procuring the means of subsistence.[125] They were divided amongst themselves and were ready at all times to desert their leader, and enter the service of any state or prince who might support them. The Pindaris were, in fact, the common pest of all government and were described as "public robbers."[126] In the words of an important Pindari leader Namdar Khan, ..".…the Pindaris are a lawless tribe and will lay every country waste."[127] They had been freebooters from generation to generation, being continually engaged in plunder, without respecting the rights of peace.[128] They were neither embarrassed with any prejudices of caste nor moved by compunction of conscience.[129]

During a campaign they were very "useful auxiliaries"[130] to the armies of the various Indian powers. They were most active and useful agents in cutting of convoys of supplies, etc., and in attaching and plundering the surrounding villages, so as to make the country

in the neighbourhood unproductive to the enemy. They also carried off cattle[131] from the vicinity of the enemy's camp. Busawan Lal has given a very interesting account of cattle-lifting performed by the Pindaris.[132] This scene was witnessed by Amir Khan, the Pathan leader in person. It thus happened. One day Amir Khan saw near the Holkar camp of large number of gun bullocks and camels brought out, with some battalions to protect their grazing. The heavy artillery of the army was also in position for their cover. A party of the Pindaris came up to Amir Khan and said, "If you please, we will give you a specimen of our courage and address and will bring off those bullocks from the very meddler of enemy's troops and artillery."[133] The Amir assented and stood on a raised platform to watch. 'The Pindaris putting their horses to speed, galloped immediately into the space between the artillery and the infantry escort, and there remained at ease, for the artillery could not open fire upon them for fear of hitting the battalion beyond. Moreover the infantry were afraid to open fire, lest it should take effect on the artillery men. Thus the Pindaris, at their leisure, watching an opportunity, drove all the cattle away and brought them where the Amir was seated.

The Pindaris were cowardly and desparate banditti, whose object was "universal rapine."[134] They thrived upon the miseries of their victims. They always avoided fighting and took to their heels as soon as they were intercepted or even challenged.[135] A very funny incident illustrative of this cowardice of the Pindaris was reported in the Madras Courier of the 24th February, 1818,[136] wherein it was stated that in course of a gallant affair that took place between a Jemadar's party and body of the Pindaris, the Jemadar, on emerging from a deep and long ravine suddenly found himself and his men in the midst of the enemy, and in danger of being surrounded. Apparently unmoved by this unexpected event, he with admirable presence of mind, is said to have turned back to the brink of the ravine and called out to the colonel to send up the guns, and plenty of ammunition. This *ruse de guerre* had the desired effect and the Pindaris on hearing it instantly had recourse to flight. The Jemadar pursued them, killed sixty and took several prisoner without losing a man. Their cowardice was no less conspicuous than their cruelty,

as was continually evinced by their hurry in plundering and their flight on the slightest opposition being made to them.

The cruelties perpetrated by the Pindaris "were of a most wanton nature."[137] Horrible barbarities marked their course, entailing sufferings on the unhappy tribes across whose settlements they swept. Neither age nor sex afforded any immunity.[138] Men were tortured, women and children abuse in order to extract the treasure,[139] while the produce of the earth was licked up by their horses[140] as if a plague of locusts had fallen upon the land. It was their common practice to burn and "wantonly destroy"[141] what could not be carried away; and in the wantonness of barbarity to ravish and murder women and children under the eyes of their husbands and parents. We can, therefore safel conclude with McNaghten that the Pindari character was "made up principally of extreme cowardice and savage ferocity."[142]

We have, however, on record a few instances of humanity on the part of the Pindari chiefs, in their directing the release of the unhappy sufferers. In one case during their raid on Guntur in 1816, a *Sahukar* (merchant) owed his life to his recognizing an old school-fellow, for at the moment he was to be lowered into a well in which they had just then drowned his uncle, a stick removed from the face of the Pindari his handkerchief, and enabled the sufferer, who was already bound, to distinguish the features of John Khan's son.[143]

A very remarkable feature was that the women of almost all the Muslim Pindaris dressed like Hindus and worshipped Hindu deities[144] (Deva, Devi, under her various forms of manifestations). Moreover, they frequently accompanied their male associates in their excursions. They were mounted on small horses or camels and are said to have exceeded the other sex in rapacity an cruelty.[145]

The Pindaris were not a peculiar phenomenon of Indian history alone. In fact, in every country, at whatever point of civilization it may have arrived, some are found, who impelled either by wants or depravity, seek a subsistence from sources less honourable than labour. In every country, at some period of history, a vast number of persons have supported themselves by open plunde, have followed no other occupation and have not even pretended to follow any other. The time during which his state of

thing prevails may be longer or shorter, its duration being determined by a greater variety of circumstances; but in a certain stage of society, it will inevitably occur as storms or earthquakes under certain conditions of natural elements. A great deal of wonder has been expressed upon the character and the conduct of the Pindaris, but in the opinion of Thornton, there seems "little ground for any very copious display of such a feeling."[146] A large portion of it is probably to be ascribed to the "unusual name"[147] by which these adventurers have been described.

We have on record instance of similar bodies in the history of medieval Europe. In Italy there were similar bands led by the Condottieri[148] in the middle ages. The activities of the celebrated Gasparoni[149] and his associates in the neighbourhood of Rome are quite wellknown. The European counterparts of the Pindaris were known as free companies and they swarmed all over Europe in the 14th century.[150] The Pindaris and the free companies resembled one another in many respects. The former were augmented by the disbanding of armies in India, an the latter owed their origin to the soldiers who were dismissed from the service of France and England. The Pindaris may be described in the words of a historian.* who was a contemporary of the free companies that "These companies having been brought up to arms, and taught to live on pillage and plunder, neither could nor would abstain from it."[151]

Moreover, the fee companies had the same fate as the Pindaris. Their increasing enormity excited the outcry of Europe, and they were gradually extirpated or incorporated with the regular armies and compelled to change their mode of life.[152] Similarly the Pindaris were brought into activity by the same causes and they were reduced for the same crimes.

The Pindaris have also been compared with the pastoral tribes of Arabia and Turkey. But the latter, although sufficiently prone to pillage, where an occasion might offer, were not impelled by such motives of imperiouse necessity,[153] as the Pindaris; their slender number covered extensive countries and when their folks had exhausted the pasture of one plain, they moved with their families into another.[154] The Pindaris, on the contrary, were confined to a tract of waste land (in the valley of the Narbada) which became their

rendezvous and from there they issued forth as desperate bands, in search of the necessaries of life.

Sometimes the Pindaris have been compared with the Pathans. Both of them were bodies of organized freebooters, who did not belong to a particular territory and were directed by irresponsible chifs who lived on rapine and disorder and who caused serious trouble to the government of Calcutta.[155] But the chief difference between the two was, that the Pathans were military mercenaries banded together for the purpose of preying on governments and powerful chiefs and to this end their force moved about with the materials of regular battles and siege.[156] The Pathans devoted their energies more especially to Rajputana, and devastated that peculiarly disturbed collection of feudal states, where internal discord, hereditary quarrels, and continued strife made their career easy and prosperous.[157] The object of the Pindaris, on the contrary, was general rapine; they preyed upon the population at large, without arrogating an ability to cope with the governments; their form and constitution, therefore, were framed with a view to this exclusive purpose.[158] So, the Pindaris were obliged to be continually armed and on the alert.[159]

Some analogy may also appear to exist between the Pindaris and the early Marathas under Shivaji, but on a reflection we find an essential difference on many important points. The adherents of Shivaji were inspired by a strong patriotic felling.[160] They were all of the same religion and country and were, in fact, the long oppressed inhabitants of an ancient kingdom, recovering their rights from a declining government.[161] The Pindaris, on the contrary, were a mere collection of vagrants from various countries and of different castes and religions an absolutely devoid of any nobler sentiments.

It will not be out of place here to mention a very important point raised by Blacker with regard to the motive of the Pindaris. Blacker has remarked thus—"In the presumptuous of their pretensions, Chitu did not hesitate to propose himself to Sindhia, as an instrument for the expulsion of the British from India."[162] Choksey has quoted Blacker on this point.[163] Lord Hastings has also described the Pindaris as a "confederacy, aiming at no less than the total extirpation of the British from India."[164] But none of the above

writers have tried to illustrate their point or to produce any evidence in support of their view.

Perhaps Lord Hastings and those writers had drawn their conclusion from the letter which Nawab Kamal Muhammad Khan alias Chitu wrote to Hindu Rao Ghathka on 25 December, 1816. An extract from that letter is as follows—."....whatever can be effected by your slave (alone), shall be executed—however in every concealed and underhand way you must aid and exert yourself for us. Please God, in very short time they (the English) shall be reduced to such straits and extremities that the Sirkar shall learn it will be sensible of the zeal of this slave."[165] But from the above letter one need not draw the conclusion that the Pindaris were out to extirpate the British from India. Since this letter was written towards the close of 1816 when the English forces were intercepting the Pindaris frequently and also putting pressure upon the Sindhia to fight the Pindaris, Chitu might have planned to attack and defeat British troops at some places. Or, this might just be a bluff to prevent the Sindhia from joining hands with the British against them.

Therefore, we have yet to find any conclusive proof to substantiate the contention of Blacker. As we have already seen, the Pindaris were neither inspired by any nationalistic or patriotic feeling nor had they any systematic plan of expeditions against any particular power. Earlier they did not even make regular incursions into the British territories. In fact, they generally avoided any clash with the British forces. They started making depredations into British territories only when they were deterred or prevented from prosecuting their accustomed predatory enterprises in the Deccan by a connected line of military posts.[166] Secondly, "the exhausted state of Hindusthan" failed to present them with an adequate field of plunder. So they turned towards the fertile provinces held by the East India Company. Under the circumstances we need not impute any political motive to their raid on British territories. We can at the best, call it an economic necessity.

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At.	*Large boats*	*Small boats*
Hindia	6	6
Jaloda	4	—
Chupaneir	4	—
Chhota Chupaneir	5	—
Cungesurree	2	—
Soochgaon	1	—
Ticcrua	2	—
Ninnour	2	—
Hoshengabad	6	9
Total:	32	15

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7

The Relation of the Pindaris with the Indian Powers

Any account of the growth of the Pindaris cannot be complete unless we study their relation with various powers of the country, particularly the Marathas to whom they owed their existence, power and influence. "The connection between the Pindaris and the Marathas could not be better exemplified than by referring to the title which the Pindaris assumed, one body being denominated 'Sindhiashahi', the other 'Holkarshahi'"[1] The intimate connection of the Pindaris with the Marathas formed an important consideration with the Governor-General of India, Marquess of Hastings who thus wrote to the court of Directors—"At the same time, I saw the intimacy of connection between the Pindaris and the Maharattas so distinctly as to be certain that an attempt to destroy the former, must infallibly engage us in war with the whole body of the latter."[2] During their early period the Pindaris were a convenient ingredient of the system of warfare developed by the Marathas. Eversince the days of Shivaji and Santaji Horpade, there had always been a class of unpaid auxiliaries attached to each chief's fighting squad, whose duty it was to step in the moment the battle ended and finish the enemy by seizing his property and camp equipage and destroying his power of recovery. They received no regular pay and were expected to live by plunder and devastation of the enemy country.[3]

Thereafter during the days of Peshwa Baji Rao I and his lieutenants such as the Sindhia, Holkar and others, the Maratha

commandants had always in their camps a body of these Pindari strugglers. They were skillful marauders with horses of their own but no fixed master whom they followed acting on their own initiative as occasion required.[4] So long as the Maratha State worked as an organized unit, controlled by competent chiefs, these predatory bands, unmatched in their long and swift marches and having their own assigned duties, followed their regular avocation and were considered quite helpful and not obnoxious.[5] The tie which connected the Pindaris with the Maratha chief, was loosened by the reduction of the military power, ascendency and territorial resources of the latter and the consequent limitation of field of enterprise.[6] Naturally, though nominally the servants of the Sindhia and Holkar, the pindaris no longer remained "effectually under their control."[7] They started making ravages indiscriminately—not sparing even their nominal patrons. As early as 1804 Malcolm, the then Resident with the Sindhia, had written to the Governor-General that the Peshwa and the Sindhia were unable to control "those licentious freebooters."[8]

Though the Maratha chiefs had been weakened, the Pindari leaders clung to their nomenclature because they had an "interest in preserving in name the original association."[9] The reason, perhaps, was that on the strength of this nominal relationship they used to put their families and other heavy baggages under the care of their patrons when they went out on expeditions. Again, when the Pindaris were in any difficulty they used to fall back upon their patrons. For instance, when on one occasion Namdar Khan, a Pindari chief, was in difficulty he invoked the help of the Sindhia in the following words—"The truth is that Jemadars and Pindaris under me are reduced to great want for it is now the rainy season and villages of my *jaidad* are desolate."[10] In reply, the Sindhia wrote that "Some further provision may then be made for you and by the blessings of government orders shall henceforth be dispatched to you after mature consideration."[11] On the other hand, motives both of interest and pride rendered the Sindhia and Holkar zealous of their nominal authority over the respective clans. The Maratha leaders were interested in these marauders because they were a source of revenue to their patrons and at the same time rendered military service to them.[12]

The Pindaris first joined daulat Rao Sindhia, when he came to Central India in 1804 and their chiefs were honoured with titles.[13] Since then the major portion of these Pindari bands was in the service of the Sindhia and Holkar and had on that account received the distinctive titles of Sindhiashahi and Holkarshahi. Mahadji Sindhia received the services of the Pindari leaders, Hiru and Burun. Later, a large number of Pindaris hung around the Sindhia. But they continued to have a separate existence and activities and when the Sindhia was in need of money he used to send a force to extract money from them.[14] The release of the Pindari leaders Karim and Chitu in 1810 from the Sindhia's confinement was also an outcome of financial considerations. As Metcalfe, the acting Resident with the Sindhia wrote to the Governor-General, "The distracting state of the Sindhia's public finances and his avarice with respect to his private treasure have brought him to consent to the release of the Pindari chiefs'.[15] On that occasion Karim had been released for a ransom of rupees 6 lakhs.[16]

Relation between Daulat Rao Sindhia and the Pindari chief Dost Muhammad was very intimate. Whenever, the Sindhia found it necessary to employ him in war, he called upon Dost Muhammad who fought on the side of the Sindhia against his enemies.[17] Giving reason for this intimacy Dhanna Pindari said that when Dost Muhammad was a child once his father Hiru had given him into the lap of Mahadji Sindhia, the uncle of Daulat Rao Sindhia.[18] Dhanna went on "Daulat Rao has such favour and regard for Dost Muhammad that were he even to plundee his own country, he would scarcely say anything to him. Dost Muhammad sits on the same seat with the Sindhia."[19] The Sindhia had even invested Dost Muhammad with a *Khilat* or robe of honour on 9 January 1813 as a mark of special favour to him.[20] But such act of favour did not deter the Pindaris from ravaging the territories of their patrons. According to Ali Pindari, Dost Muhammad did not spare even the Sindhia's territories and had plundered them on a number of a occasions.[21]

For such offences the Sindhia used to resume the Jagir the had granted to them.[22] For example, when the adherents of Dost Muhammad and Chitu plundered the Sindhia's districts in 1812,[22] the Sindhia threatened Dost Muhammud to resume his Jagir of Bagrode as a result of which Dost Muhammad recalled his *durrah.*[23]

On a later occasion Shujawalpur was taken from Karim.[24] who had earlier been confined by the Sindhia.[25] The Sindhia was also preparing an expedition under the command of Jean Baptiste* against the Pindaris.[26] The reason was that the Sindhia had become afraid of the rising power of the Pindaris and appeared to be concerned about curbing them.[27] But the Sindhia wanted to avoid an open conflict with them. The obvious reason for such a course of action was that Daulat Rao Sindhia was unwilling to admit an inability to reduce the Pindaris, which arose from a sentiment of pride and a desire to avoid an exposure of his weakness.[28] Therefore, the Sindhia had also started negotiations with them with the object of inducing them to forego their predatory habits in return for grant of territory. All the same, the Pindaris continued to make depredations in the territories of the Sindhia.[29] A body of Pindaris was to remain at the beck and call of the Sindhia.[30] As a result of this a compromise was arrived at according to which Dost Muhammad was to get a Jagir in addition to recovering his lands of Bagrode and Dost Muhammad agreed to devote himself to the interests of the Sindhia and receive Rs. 40,000 per month until put in possession of his Jagir. In this connection one may remember the observation of Capt. Close, the Resident with the Sindhia that "It is true that the lawless habits of the Pindaris expose Sindhia's territories in their vicinity to occasional plunder, but his more distant provinces are seldom or never injured by them, and it had been ascertained that his possessions in the Deccan are exempted from the cruel outrages....."[31] The evidence of Kundu Pindari also throws light on this point. Once being asked, if the Pindaris ever plundered the territories of the Sindhia and Holkar, he replied, "Never, except by stealth."[32]

From this it is evident that there always existed some sort of an understanding between the Sindhia and the Pindaris. It may also be argued that the Pindaris did not raid the Sindhia's territories in the Deccan because of their distance from Pindari headquarters. But this argument does not hold good because the Pindaris made very far-off expeditions. We have reliable evidence of the fact that the Sindhia had all along kept up a connection with those freebooters;[33] that he never showed the least objection to their issuing from his territories to plunder the provinces of the British and their allies, and that he

permitted them to return again with their booty "undisturbed and unquestioned",[35] into his dominions. When objected to by the British Resident the Sindhia even declared his intention of pursuing and of doing all he cold do to destroy them,[36] yet he continued to carry on correspondence with them secretly.[37] The Resident was disillusioned to find that "a number of *Vakils* from Pindaris were even now residing in Sindhia's court."[38] Again, from a perusal of letters written by Chitu to Hindu Rao Ghatka and Mir Khan, the lieutenant of Holkar and from *akhbars* received by the Sindhia it appears that the Sindhia's government took little pains to exhibit "even an appearence of dissolving its connection with the Pindaris."[39] On an examination of the statement of strength of corps under Jaswant Rao Bhao, commander of the Sindhia, we find that there were 125 Pindari horse in his army.[40] Even after the conclusion of the treaty (5 November, 1817) between the Sindhia and the British, the Bhao connived at Karim's staying with him for three days when the latter was being hotly pursued by the British army.[41] Similarly Chity also enjoyed the Bhao's protection. In return Chitu is reported to have given the Bhao Rs. 2,000 and his people about Rs. 300 for his protection.[42]

The Pindaris, in fact, looked upon the Sindhia as their true friend and guide an their leaders turned to him for advice on crucial occasions. We have on record as to how on the approach of the British and allied troops near the Narbada towards the end of 1816 the various Pindari chiefs lodged their families and valuables at Sutwas and proposed to seek help from the Sindia.[43] Chitu wrote to another Pindari leader named Mazhur Baksh that "we shall all unite and then proceed towards Daulat Rao Sindhia and leaving there the equipage and followers of three *durrahs,* with our fighting men only proceed to oppose the English."[44] Another Pindari chief Wasil Muhammad, brother of Dost Muhammad, wrote thus to Daulat Rao Sindhia, "Your Highness had made some provision for us and had settled our affairs but now disorders and confusion will prevail, as before, the Pindaris are no longer under control, they will now make no distinction of countries, but will lay every place waste. Whatever your Highness orders may now be executed with utmost zeal and attention......."[45]

In September 1816 when Mir Khan invited Namdar Khan to join him, the latter thus wrote to the Sindhia—"...They (Pindaris)

regard Your Highness as their refuge and protector and for that reason I earnestly represent that if there is any delay in an answer to this your servants will be ruined."[46] Soon afterwards Namdar Khan wrote to the Sindhia—"I can do nothing without Your Highness's order and it is my intention to act in conformity to whatever your wishes may be in this affair."[47] On another occasion he wrote ."....I have learnt that the Nagpur army with the regiments of the English are coming this way to attack us and the troops of Hyderabadwallah also accompanied by the English regiments have marched from the Dakhan" and he asked for instructions whether to engage with the enemy or go and attack their territories and destroy their country.[48] In reply the Sindhia prohibited him from uniting with Mir Khan and wrote thus—"Offer no molestation to the countries of others and continue to obey the orders of the Sarkar according to your own promise" In the end he wrote, "For the present, on no account undertake any expedition and pay no attention, whatever to the proposals of Mir Khan."[49] But probably under the pressure of the English, the Sindhia in his letter to Namdar Khan after expressing his strong ties of friendship with the British thus wrote—"It is therefore written that you may now do whatever you think proper. The Presence (the Sindhia) has absolutely no concern with you."[50]

When as a result of pressure from the British Daulat Rao Sindhia showed reluctance in openly supporting the Pindaris, Chity wrote to him, ."....If it be Your Highness's pleasure that no interruption shall take place in your friendship with the English Company and that their country shall not be plundered send away my *Vakeel*. Your Highness's pleasure will then be understood. In future, whatever you desire shall be obeyed."[51] In another letter to his *Vakil* with the Sindhia Chitu wrote, "The Pindaris wish for a leave to plunder countries but I am waiting for an answer for it is uncertain what orders His Highness may issue? If His Highness should wish to have no concern with us and should desire us to do as we please do you then take your leave and come away, or if His Highness should be inclined to put a stop to our disorders, remain there. If a proper *jaidad* were assigned to us how could we then presume to disturb anyone."[52] In reply the Sindhia wrote to Chitu, "You have now no concern with the Presence and that you are at full liberty to do whatever you please."[53] In another letter of the same

date the Sindhia wrote, "If I were to take any part in your concern it would produce a quarrel with the English and the master would be displeased; and yet if I abstain from doing so your *durrah* will be ruined—all this gives me uneasiness. Continue to send me particular account of your situation but do not expect that I shall write to vou. Hindu Rao Baba will give you news of this place....."[54]

In reply to this Chitu, in his letter to Hindu Rao professed allegiance to the Sindhia and swore ever to remain faithful to him.[55] When he heard from Hindu Rao about the appointment of Bala Rao Inglia to attack the Pindaris,[56] he wrote back to Hindu Rao— "I feel convinced this is done entirely to please the English...This is wonderful."[57] On the following day Bala Rao wrote to Chitu, "Keep you mind at ease and continue to write to me."[58]

Thus we see that the Pindaris all along continued to enjoy the sympathy and direct or indirect support of the Sindhia. In spite of the Treaty with the British (5 November, 1817) the Sindhai continued to give shelter to the Pindaris, allowing them to make depredations from his country. In addition to this, the Sindhia even failed to supply the contingent of troops promised by him to take part in the operations against them.

As we have already noticed the Pindaris had entered the services of Malhar Rao Holkar long before they joined the Sindhia. But the Holkarshahi Pindaris were far less formidable than the Sindhiashahi.[59] Their chief leader was Kadir Baksh. Tuku and Sahib Khan ranked below him. The Pindari chief Karim Khan was earlier in Holkar's camp and he rose to power and fame under Jaswant Rao Holkar. He became Jaswant Rao's principal agent for the execution of his designs.[60] His services proved valuable to Holkar.[61] But soon Daulat Rao Sindhia managed to allure him to a personal meeting in 1807 and had him arrested.[62]

The Pindari followers of Holkar also like those of the Sindhia were not under the effectual control of their master.[63] They had no scruples in attacking the territories even of their patron. Jaswant Rao Halkar had himself mentioned to Elphin-stone about an incursion made into his country by the Pindaris.[64] All the same, Jaswant Rao did not show any alarm at the rising power of the Pindaris.[65] On the contrary, he gave them shelter in times of difficulty. As for instance,

Karim Khan, after his release from the Sindhia's confinement immediately threw himself under the care of Holkar[66] (19 January, 1812).

But on a later occasion when Holkar apprehended danger from the Pindaris he even got Karim arrested and kept him in confinement.[67] Soon after we find Jaswant Rao making an attack upon Jal and Asthta in collaboration with another Pindari chief, Chitu.[68] Before Jaswant Rao Holkar became insane the Pindari chiefs, who served his family, were kept in their propersituation. Although they commanded large bodies of men they were never allowed to sit down in the presence of the prince,[69] and when Jaswant Rao previous to his departure to Patila in 1805, met Daulat Rao Sindhia he reproached that prince for the encouragement he gave to the Pindari chiefs by his personal intercourse with them, and by the high titles and grants of land which he bestowed on them [70]

In 1816 Mir Khan invited Namdar Khan to join him but the Sindhia forbade him to do so.[72] Thereafter we find Mir Khan in "more frequent correspondence than usual with the Pindari chiefs."[73] Holkar's government during this time was entirely in the hands of Mir Khan, who in the opinion of Jenkins "was in league with the Pindaris."[74]

Holkar's government was trying to woo the Pindaris apparently with a view to getting their support in the impending war with the British. After the insanity of Jaswant Rao, Tulsi Bai and those who contended for power, sought to increase their strength by any means. The Pindari chiefs of the Holkarshahi class consequently, rose into importance, and they were not only treated with high respect, but had lands assigned to them for the subsistence of their followers.[75] The result was that a number of the Pindaris joined Holkar's camp although they were themselves being hunted by the British troops.[76] But that proved of no avail to Holkar or even to the Pindaris who were now standing on their last legs.

It was Shahji under whom the earliest known Pindari Nusru served. Nusru's grandson Ghaziuddin Khan served under Peshwa Baji Rao I. His sons Gardi Khan and Shahbaz Khan practically severed their relations with the Peshwa and we do not find the Peshwa making any grant of *jagir* to the Pindaris after 1803-4.[77] This

was probably because of the fact that the Peshwa had just concluded the treaty of Bassein with the British. But it the heart of hearts the Peshwa was dissatisfied with the terms of that treaty.[78] So he was harbouring hostile thoughts against the English and was secretly in correspondence with the Pindari chiefs.[79] That is probably the reason why when the Pindaris attacked Khandesh towards the end of 1811 an the British expected the Peshwa to send troops against hem on the strength of the treaty of Bassein, the Peshwa evaded doing so. Elphinstone, the Resident at Poona thus wrote on that occasion—"...The Peshwa's preparations are still incomplete and he cannot be prevailed on to reader them effectual sending Gokla † to the frontier or by raising new troops."[60]

The action of the Peshwa may also be interpreted in a different way. As a result of the incursions of the Pindaris into Khandesh and Nagpur a great alarm prevailed at Poona also. Moreover, as Wheeler has pointed out the Peshwa had very little reliance on the ability of his own government to repel the incursions of those powerful hordes.[81] But soon afterward we learn from the Resident of Nagpur about a conversation among the various Pindari chiefs at which Chitu is said to have re-marked that he had "orders from Peshwa to lay waste the countries of the Mughal and the English" and that their expedition had actually gone into the British territory.[82] A week after that Dost Muhammad sent a Maratha named Apa along with one Naeem Khan of his *durrah* "to negotiate with the Peshwa."[83] During his flight from the confinement of the British Trimbakji* was accompanied by a number of Pindaris.[84] The revolt of Peshwa Baji Rao II just at the time when the operations against the Pindaris were being conducted may also be interpreted as an indirect help to the Pindaris. This view is also supported by the fact that during the Peshwa's revolt against the English "some of the Pindaris had joined the Peshwa."[85]

The Raja of Berar, who was the chief of Nagpur, bore the title of Bhonsla from the family name Bhonsle. He did not have any regular bodies of the Pindari under him like the Sindhiashahi or the Holkarshahi. Hence the Pindaris had no special affinities with him. At times they offered their services to him for attacking his enemy. In 1797 two Pander chiefs Hiru and Burun made on overture to Bhopal to employ them in reducing the Nagpur state. The offer

being declined they proceeded to Nagpur where they were graciously received and the first order they received from Raghuji Bhonsla was to lay waste the country of Bhopal. They ransacked Bhopal badly but the exaggerated reports of their booty excited the jealousy of the Raja of Nagpur. On the return of the Pindaris to his capital he unceremoniously surrounded their camp, deprived them of all the movables they had captured from the inhabitants of Bhopal and seized Burun, who died in his confinement while his brother Hiru fled to Daulat Rao Sindhia.[86]

Later we find that the Pindaris turned against Nagpur. Therefore, the Raja had to post troops on the Narbada in order to present their incursions.[87] In 1809 and again in 1811[88] the Pindaris made depredations in Nagpur territory as a result of which the Raja requested Minto for some military help against them but Minto did not respond to it.[89] So the Pindaris continued to harass Nagpur state. Thus we find that the Pindaris had no particular attachment with Bhonsla Raja of Nagpur.

Besides the Maratha powers there were a few other states whom the Pindaris occasionally served during the early part of their career. Bhopal was one such state. It was the principal Muslim state in Central India. It has been stated earlier that in 1797 the two Pindari leaders Hiru and Burun offered their services to Bhopal but on being refused, plunered it (Bhopal) at the instance of the Raja of Nagpur who was then at cross purposes with the Nawab of Bhopal. The Pindaris ransacked Bhopal so badly that even after an elapse of 25 years Malcolm found that it had not till then recovered from "the effects of their visitation."[90]

But as the power of the Pindaris grew Wazir Muhammad the Nawab of Bhopal tried to obtain the assistance of the British Government with a view to warding off their danger. But his efforts bore no fruit. He was, therefore, compelled for self-preservation to league himself with the Pindri leaders."[91] The Nawab even employed Karim[92] and Chitu.[93] Dost Muhammad's offer of assistance was "readily accepted"[94] by the Nawab. Namdar Khan also entered the service of Bhopal.[95] A *Vakil* from him came to Bhopal and they are said to have had "a design to plunder the British territories."[96] But as Aitchison has remarked, "The connection with

these freebooters was distasteful to the Nawab, and tolerated only from inability to control them."[97] In the meantime Nawab Wazir Muhammad died an taking advantage of this situation the Pindaris plundered Bhopal[98] as a result of which great misery prevailed there. On this occasion Hakim Inayet Munshi of Bhopal thus wrote to Wauchope, the Superintendent of Political Affairs at Banda, "From the incursions of those notorious freebooters into this territory we have experienced the greatest distress...."[99] and in the end he wrote, "therefore, trust that in your unbounded goodness you will be willing immediately to support and protect this state."[100] The new Nawab, Nazar Muhammad Khan also wrote that "The Pindaris from Karim Khan's *durrah* are at present making such havoc in Bhopal as it would be impossible to describe........[101] He prayed for support and protection and for crushing the enemy so that they could again prosper under the protection of the Company and wrote, "I cannot look for any place of safety except under your favouring auspices and those of the Honourable Company."[102] In his letter to Maddock,* the new Nawab confirmed that he had no concern with the Pindaris[103] and he professed to be a wellwisher of the British. He took a leading part in the suppression and settlement of the Pindaris.

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* Jean Baptiste was a commander of Daulat Rao Sindhia.

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† Bappoo Gokla was an important Maratha leader.

* Trimbakji Danglia was a favourite minister of Peshwa Baji Rai II.

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* Maddock was the acting superintendent of Political Affairs at Banda.

8

Military Organization and Social Life of the Pindaris

The Pindaris do not appear to have formed any nation or state—they probably never wanted to create one. They never intended to settle anywhere. Hence they did not become a organized political community in the sense of a territorial state. In the words of Sydenham "They (Pindaris) are incapable of formal engagements; they have no regular system of interest or policy to pursue; they have no form of government to defend. They are free from all those obligations, both political and moral which serves to restrain and suppress the irregular proceedings of established states."[1] They aimed at no conquests. Plunder was their principal object.[2] They were men of all lands and all religions. As Walker wrote to Jones, "They (Pindaris) belong to no particular caste, but are men attracted by the hopes of adventure and plunder......"[3]

In the beginning the Pindaris served as useful auxiliaries in the armies of the various Maratha chiefs. They were sent as advance parties to plunder indiscriminately the enemy-country of their employers.[4] Besides, they arranged for the supplies of the army which they served, thus performing the duty of "Brinjarries"[5] (probably refers to the Banjaras) who much resembled them in their cruel disposition and predatory habits.

A very important feature of their organization was their intangible nature[6] as a result of which it was difficult to obtain correct information of the position and numbers of the Pindaris.[7] In the opinion of Malcolm "their chief strength lay in their being inangible."[8] Therefore, any permanent system of defence against

their raids was bound to be futile and unavailing.[9] In the words of Sydenham, "No system of defence and no distribution of troops can completely protect the country against the occasional depredations of the Pindaries."[10] That is why when the British started military operations for their suppression, they experienced a lot of difficulty, in giving any "precise instruction"[11] for their attack.

The Pindaris endeavoured to make their power appear as formidable as possible. For this purpose they spread out false reports about their power and achievements. Practising the expedients of a civilized nation in modern times, they maintained emissaries to publish exaggerated accounts of their success and to contradict or suppress occasional rumours of their reverses.[12]

They had also made arrangements for obtaining intelligence about he countries which they intended to raid. Through their reporters they even ascertained the names of the wealthy inhabitant of the big towns.[13] We have on record that prior to the Pindari raid on Guntur and other places in 1816 their reporters had been very active at those places.[14] At Munglaghurry, for example, a person was observed with the Pindaris, who had only a year before endeavoured to pass goods clandestinely in the character of an Hyderabad merchant. At one or two places some associates of the Pindaris were recognized, who had formerly gone over the country showing bears, tiger and other tamed animals.[15]

A man named Puturi Badziah, brother of one of the Guntur *curnums* and connected with many of the most affluent Brahmins in that town was recognized in their train.[16] The information which he would have communicated must have proved very useful to the Pindaris.

The Pindaris used to employ local people as their reporters. Refering to this practice of employing local people the Cumbum Commission thus observed, "This is not, however, to be much wondered at, when we reflect on the number of persons who are to be found in every populous place without any employment, and whose vice or poverty will induce them to take advantage of their neighbours misfortunes to enrich themselves, nor so long as beggars, in the habit of *Byragies* and *Fakeers* are allowed without any restriction to pass through the Company's dominions."[17]

The Pindaris, however, ruthlessly dealt with persons suspected of spying on them. On 13 April, 1814 Chitu was reported to have apprehended a person together with two others and he put them all to death with extreme cruelty, because he suspected them with writing intelligence secretly to the British Government.[18]

The various Pindari chiefs also maintained their *Vakils* in the courts of their patrons like the Sindhia, Holkar and others. Through them they maintained contacts with the different Indian powers. The *Vakils* pleaded for *jagirs* and various other kinds of help for their masers. We find the presence of these *Vakils* in the court of the Sindhia till about the time when operations were started for the suppression of the Pindaris.[19]

The Pindaris did not carry out their raids throughout the year. The season of their excursion was confined to the dry months of the year. They did not carry with them tents or other heavy baggage,[20] so they could not afford to remain outdoors during rains. Again, they usually resided in the Narbada valley and had invariably to cross the river in the course of their excursions. Hence they had to suspend their activities during monsoon and flood season, that is, between June and October.[21] They started crossing the Narbada and Tapti when the water subsided and these rives became fordable. They pursued their predatory course for several months until the rains returned, when they retraced their steps homewards, to share their spoils and prepare for fresh incursion.[22] Before the Pindaris set out on an expedition, a leader sent notice to the inferior chiefs and hoisted his standard on a particular day after the cessation of the rains.[23] The Pindaris standard was generally raised at the end of the Dasahra* festival in the month of October or November each year.[24] When the *Kharif* or autumn harvest was gathered they sallied forth to rob both friends and foes and returned to their cantonments with the onset of rains.[25] In this respect the Pindaris, perhaps, followed the tradition of the kings of ancient India to sart on the conquering expeditions or *Digvijay* during the dry season.[26] This shows that economic causes, especially those relating to the supply to food and fodder determined largely the time for the expeditions of the Pindaris. The plundering parties hoped to be supported by the grains which had recently been harvested in the various countries.

During the rains the Pindaris remained in cantonments and did not stir out from their homes, looking upon the season as the time of repose.[27] They seldom crossed the Narbada after the month of May, or fear of its rising and cutting off their retreat. In this respect they resembled the early Maratha armies, who paid a similar deference to the river Krishna.[28] During this season if they ran short of money and provisions, they generally used to be supported by their chiefs or by loans at high interest from merchants who lived in their camps, many of whom thus amassed large fortunes.[29]

The incursions of the Pindaris were as regular as the periodical returns of the monsoon.[30] To quote Sydenham, "The blessing which a bounteous Providence showers at stated periods upon the thirsty plains of the Decan are as regularly defeated by a host of plunderers, who seem to wait with malicious pleasure till the crops are ripe up to the ground, in order that the unfortunate husbandman may be robbed of the fruits of his labours, at the moment when he ought to reap them."[31]

The Pindari force was composed of all classes and all descriptions of people, who, "either for want, or disaffection, were induced to join in it, thus becoming part of a community who had no means of subsistence excepting such as murder and robbery afforded them."[32] Though men of every caste and creed were welcome within the fold of the Pindari fraternity Malcolm had noticed that almost all the Hindus among them were of low classes whose usual occupations was to baring grass and firewood to their camps.[33] Moreover, from a perusal of the recorded names of the Pindaris, it would appear that they were mostly Muslims. Generally the horseman discharged from the service of regular governments, who wanted employment and subsistence used to join one of the *durrahs* of the Pindaris with the result that "no vagabon who has a horse and a sword at his command, can be at a loss for employment."[34] Thus, in the words of Marshman, "Their ranks were recruited by miscreants expelled from society, and men pursued by their creditors, as well as by men weary of peaceful occupation and eager for excitement."[35]

It is evident, therefore, that recruitment to the Pindari force was indiscriminately made.[36] A horse and a sword were deemed sufficient qualifications for admission into Pindari ranks. A common interest in plunder kept them united.

We have on record a few instances of Europeans serving in the Pindari force. Jenkins is said to have heard that Chitu had two or there Europeans with his guns.[38] But nothing more is known about them.

The Pindari force consisted of military mercenaries associated for the purpose of plundering. According to an estimate of Sydenham, out of every five Pindaris, two were fighting men, two were looters mounted on half-bred horses of inferior size, though active and hardy—and the remaining one was of the third class, consisting of followers mounted on *tattoos* or poneys and armed with swords and sticks.[38]

The Pindri forces were divided into the following categories:

(i) *Durrah*	...was the term used to denote the camp or tribe commanded by the *Sardar* or chief.[40]
(ii) *Lubher or Lubhur*	was the term they used for one of the expeditionary parties and the chief who commanded it was designated *Lubheree* or *Lubbriah*.[41]
(iii) *Tokhdar*	...was the name they gave to a chief who commanded from 500 to 1000 horses.[42]
(iv) *Muhaldar*	...was one who commanded from 100 to 500 horses.[43]
(v) *Foyjewalla*	... was inferior to the above categories.[44]

When the Pindaris set out on an expedition, they placed themselves under the leadership of one or more chosen chiefs named *Lubbriahs*.[45] These *Lubbriahs* were selected on account of their knowledge of the country that it was meant to plunder. When an expedition was decided upon, the *Lubbriah's* moving out with his standard was the signal for the march.[46]

When they proceeded on their predatory excursions, they were joined by such a large number of temporary adherents during their progress, that the original number to the *Lubher* was nearly doubled.[47]

They generally obeyed and looked up to their chiefs but it appears that the Pindari forces were not governed by such strict

discipline as is the case with modern armies.[48] When questionsed on this point, Kundu Pindari reported thus—:"we are nominally under the orders of a particular chief termed *Lubhureu* (or *Lubheree),* but if any person chooses to separate from the main body, no notice is taken of it."[49]

There was perhaps no arrangement for giving aid to the injured or for helping those who were left behind due to fatigue, illness or any other reason. On this point Kundu Pindari's reply was, "We march off in a body and continue so long as we can; those who fall in the rear are left to their fate, we never stop to defend them."[50]

The terms upon which the Pindaris served the various Indian powers are not easily ascertainable. They differed most probably according to the strength of the powers which employed them.[51] In the opinion of Thornton the measure of Pindari remuneration was decided by the degree of ability to acquire and retain them.[52] A trifling sum seems to have been allowed for each Pindari horseman, first by the Peshwa, and afterwards by the Maratha chiefs to whom they were attached, but "their plunder always formed the principal part of their pay."[53]

During the time of Malhar Rao and Tukoji Holkar the Pindaris who were not permitted to plunder Maratha territory were granted an allowance which averaged four annas a day.[54] They also supported themselves by employing their small horses and bullock in carrying grain, forge and wood for which articles the Pindari Bazar was the great mart. When let loose to pillage, which was always the case some days before the army entered into an enemy's country, all allowances were stopped.[55] They were free to plunder the enemy's country till the campaign was over.[56] Then the Maratha commander, if he had the power, forced the Pindaris to yield up the greater part of their booty. This practice must have led the Pindaris to redouble their excesses so that they might satisfy their employers and still retain a good part for themselves. Thus, according to Sydenham their primary engagement was "to be allowed indiscriminate plunder beyond the territories of their employers", and they served without pay, in consideration of this license. Even when the Pindaris were not employed by any other power the various Pindari chiefs did not make any regular payment to their followers, whose chief sources of

income was plunder. At times when during off-season they ran short of money or provisions their chiefs advanced them loans which were recovered after they returned from plundering excursions.

We do not have any detailed information with regard to the dress of the Pindaris horsemen. But from the report of the Cumbum Commission, which had investigated into the Pindari raid in Guntur and other places in 1816, it appears that their dress consisted of a quilted jacket, which came below the knee; their turbans were tied on with a handkerchief. Some of them wore quilted caps which were made to fasten under the chin. Their drawers were made of thick coarse cloth.[58] Amir Ali,* however, informs us that in Chitu's party each leader of the *durrah* surpassed the other in richness and martial air of his dress, his arms and trapping of his horse.[59] On the basis of this we may conclude that the dress of the Pindari forces (when ready to march) was impressive and different from the one usually worn.

The Pindari horsemen took particular care to keep themselves fit and agile, which was essential for their profession. During leisure hours they performed a number of exercises. Duel was the most popular form of exercise with them. Amir Ali gives a very interesting account of how he fought a duel in Chity's camp, as a result of which he had won the favour of the latter.[60]

The Pindaris were generally armed with spear in the use of which they were expert. The spears were made of bamboo and were from twelve to eighteen feet long.[61] Some of them also carried a sword and a shield.[62] A great portion had no other weapons than iron-pointed sticks, which were chiefly intended for the purpose of digging of property.[63] But as fire arms were sometimes indispensable for the attack of villages about a fifteenth to twentieth part of them were armed with matchlocks.[64] Some of the principal *sardars* carried pistols.[65] Quite large number of them were plunderers armed with a variety of weapons. all were mounted though not equally well. In the opinion of Prinsep out of a thousand, the proportion of good cavalry might be four hundered. Nearly four hundred were plunderers, indifferently mounted an the remaining two hundred were slaves, attendants and camp followers. [66]

Keeping slaves was not the solitary privilege of the kings of the aristocracy. It was a custom with the Pindaris to employ slaves. Each Pindari chief had from ten to fifteen slaves.[67]

The *Sindhiashahi* and *Holkarshahi* Pindaris has separate flags which distinguished the one from the other. As for example, the flag of the *Sindhiashahi* branch was of the *bhagwa* colour (a mixture of red and orange) with a white snake in the centre. The *suggurs* or small standards, had a similar device and were made of taffeta-green, yellow or any colour other than black, which was used by the *Holkarshahi* branch.[68]

In addition to this, each important chief had a separate flag of his own which distinguished his *durrah.* Chitu, for example, had adopted for himself the *Sindhiashahi* flag and had, in all, three standards.[69] Karim's flag was said to be white, with a green *putaka* (flag), which was a kind of double pendant flying above the flag.[70] He had only one standard under him.[71] The flag of Kadir Baksh was also white, with a double pendant of the *bhagwa* colour.[72] Dost Muhammad's flag was of *bhagwa* colour and he had two standard under him.[73] Tuku and Gulabkhan, both sons of Gaziuddin and important *Holkarshahi* chiefs had adopted *Holkarshahi* flag, stripped white and red. The flags of Sahib Khan and Bahadur Khan both sons of Briam were typical *Holkarshahi* of black colour.[74] The above named four *Holkarshahi* Pindari chiefs had together under them these three standards.[75]

The Pindari forces were always mounted. But their horse, like those of the Cossacks were small and "extremely active."[76] They ordinarily marched thirty to forty miles a day, but in cases of extraordinary emergency they were capable of accomplishing fifty or even sixty miles a day. To effect these extraordinary exertions they were accustomed to sustain the vigour of their horse by spices and stimulants.[77] Opium was a very popular from of stimulant.[78] In the opinion of an officer, the custom of giving opium to horses was also practised by Uzbecks. Tartars and Turkomans, whose horses were much superior and performed far more wonderful journeys than those of the Pindaris.[79] When asked about the manner in which the Pindaris fed their horse that they could stand so much of fatigue, Kundu Pindari's reply was that "we generally feed them on *chenna*

jowari, tooree, in short, whatever we can, beside we have a preparation of opium, arsenic blue stone, and other ingredients which cannot particularise, which we sometime administer to them, and we accustom them when young to bear fatigue.[80] Besides this, they shod their horses before they set out, so that they could perform the journey well.[81]

When on their march the Pindaris carried very light luggage besides their arms and were never encumbered by tents or baggage.[82] The climate and the hardy habits of these plunderers rendered tents or baggage unnecessary.[83] Their saddles also served the purpose of beds. Each man provided himself with a few cakes of bread for his subsistence and a few feeds of grains for his horse, trusting much to the chance of plunder for the means of supplying wants of both. When questioned as to how they managed with such small provisions, Kundu Pindari's reply was that "we mutually assist each other depending entirely on what we can procure in the village of our route?" In reply to another question he said, "As long as we continue in Sindhia's country we purchase everything, afterwards we depend entirely on plunder."[85]

When the Pindari's were out on predatory execurisons, the party which usually consisted of two or three thousand good horses with a proportion of mounted followers advanced at the raid rate of forty to fifty miles a day, "neither turning to the right or left till they arrived at their place of destination."[86] In the opinion of Fitzclarence the velocity with which they moved was "certainly quicker than any other cavalry in the world",[87] and it enabled them generally to evade pursuit. They made long and successive marches and did not halt, except to refresh themselves or to collect their plunder or to "indulke their passions of lust and cruelty."[88]

The Pindaris generally halted during the heat of the day in the plundered villages or under the shade of trees and hedges and commonly took half a day's rest. During the beginning an close of both night and day, they were generally in motion.[89] The celerity of their marches was not more remarkable than their secrecy. It was scarcely possible to gain information of their movement till they completed them.[90]

Their modus operandi was characterised by precision and its sole object was plunder. As soon as they arrived at the place of their destination, they divided themselves into small parties and made a sweep of all the cattle and property, they could find, committing at the same time the most horrid atrocities. To quote thornton "They brought little with them and their object was to carry as much possible.[91]

In plundeing expeditions the best of the horse formed covering parties, and they did not embarass themselves with spoil. This body was intended to be ready on the alarm, to collect at any point, in order to face and amuse in enemy while the plundering parties were marching off with what they collected?[92]

The principal chiefs seldom accompanied those expeditions in person but remained in their cantonments, sending in their stead same of their most confidential *chelas* to conduct the operations, and kept a regular communication with the different parties by means of *hircaras,* sometimes disguised as *fakirs* and *gossains* in their party.[93]

They made surprise raids in order to avoid stiff and prepared opposition and before a force could be brought against them, the were on their heels. To quote Sydenham "They retire with nearly the same rapidity as they approach, and they have generally reached their strong-holds, and secured their booty before a government can adopt any actual measure to repel them."[94]

The Pindaris were not in the habit of making an attack on any body of troops, however comparatively small that might be. On the contrary, "their utmost exertions are invariably employed to avoid an encounter."[95] In the words of Sydenham, who had carefully studied their character and habits, "They avoid fighting, for they come to plunder, not to flight."[96]

Whenever an attempt was made to strike a blow at the Pindaris, they were able to defeat it by the promptitude of their movements in retreat. Their aptitude for flying rendered "conflict impossible and pursuit ineffectual."[97] If pursued, they made marches of extraordinary lengths by roads almost "impracticable for regular troops."[98] If overtaken, they dispersed and reassembled at an appointed rendezvous. If followed to the country from which they

issued, they broke up into small parties.[99] Asked as to how their marches were conducted Kundu replied, "In all our marches both going and coming, we avoid the high roads and proceed by the most unfrequented paths."[100]

Therefore, it was almost impossible to overtaken the Pindaris. But there was one circumstance in which they could be overtaken without much difficulty. When they were returning from plundering excursions they used to be encumbered with heavy booty and so they could not easily elude the pursuing troops. Kundu Pindari also corroborated it when, in answer to a question on this point he replied that they could be overtaken "on their return from expeditions, because then they are incapable of making such rapid marches as at first, their horses being fatigued by journey and encumbered with loads."[101]

When the Pindaris went out on excursions their families and wealth were housed with the various chiefs who seldom accompanied the raiding parties or with their patrons like the Sindhia or Holkar. On return hey found protection either in castles of their own or from those powers with whom they were either openly or secretly connected.[102]

After plundering the Pindaris carried off everything which was "valuable and easy of conveyance."[103] Articles of "greatest value" were disposed about their persons and cattle afforded the means of their own transport.[104] To carry off their plunder, the Pindaris had sometimes relays of ponie and bullocks. What they could not carry they "wantonly" destroyed?[105]

When the work of plundering was completed the Pindaris withdrew like "wild beasts to their lairs." Then a change of scene took place. The operation of plunder was exchanged for that of "huckstering."[106] Top priority was given to the question of sharing of the booty. In the days of Hiru and Burun, it was customary with them to transfer a fourth part of their spoils to the government which they served for the collection of which agents resided with their leaders.[107] Elephants, cannon, palanguins and umbrellas captured by the Pindaris were generally considered as property of the government which employed them.[108] After the claim of the government or the chief came that of others. According to Jenkins

those who received either pay or lands delivered up all their plunder to their immediate chiefs. They were allowed to be divided one-fourth among themselves as their share. The other three-fourths were retained by the *shogdaars* who were obliged in their turn to present a fourth of what they received to the head of the *durrah*?[109] It was a custom with the Pindaris that, whatever booty the slaves took was the property of the master.[110] Others again, who had neither pay nor land, and who were perhaps in the greatest number were allowed to retain three-fourths of their plunder. The remaining one-fourth went to their immediate chief as an acknowledgment for his permission to plunder under his flag.[111] The commander of the army occasionally shared in the booty he acquired. After that the question of payment of advance made by merchants came, because these people occasionally contracted public debts.[112]

When Kundu Pindari was asked about the manner of sharing the booty he replied that "Every man retains what he gets, with the exception of elephants, which are given usually to Setoo (Chitu), who in return make presents."[113] This answer seems to be vague. Although Kundu seems to be a well-informed Pindari probably he had no detailed knowledge about the process of division of the booty.

These preliminaries being disposed of, the scene that followed resembled a fair. Every man's share of plunder was exposed for sale. Purchyasers flocked from all quarters, proximate and remote, the business of the sale being conducted principally by women. While the women were thus busy in disposing of their husbands' property, the men, who were on such occasions certain of visits from friends, were engaged in hearing music, seeing dances and drolls and drinking.[114] From this we can presume that there must have been arrangements in the Pindari camp for dancing and singing girls in addition to jesters and buffoons in order to entertain the Pindaris when they were back from their plundering excursions. This kind of revelry lasted until the produce of the expedition was exhausted and it became necessary to seek in fresh outrages renewed means of gratification.[115] Thus passed the life of a Pindari in an alternation of brutal exertion and sensual abandonment.

In order to avoid the possibility of resistance the Pindaris, when they were on excursion, practised a system of "terror."[116] They perpetrated most horrible cruelties which civilized people could not even think of. It is stated in the official paper laid before the British Parliament that "Their spoliations are marked with the utmost barbarity, every village which they have pillaged contains victims of their fury, and a few hamlets only have escaped their destructive rage." The state of wretchedness in which the sufferers were left, from the destruction of their property and the inhuman cruelty of the invaders, is said "to have exhibited a picture of the most consummate misery that ever was witnessed.[117]

The ordinary modes of torture inflicted by the Pindaris were heavy stones placed on the head or chest; red-hot irons applied to the soles of the feet; tying the head of a person into a *tobra* or bag for feeding horses, filled with hot ashes; throwing oil on the clothes and setting fire to them. Besides, many other equally effective devices were practised in order to terrify the inhabitants, and to induce them to expose their concealed property.[118]

Sometimes on their arrival at a village of any consequence every man was first seized and his arms being secured, he was thrown to the ground, and ashes of dust were applied to his face. A quantity of ashes being first put loosely into a cloth which was placed over his head, was repeatedly beaten until the victim's mouth and nose became filled. To make pain more severe, pounded chillies, were added to the ashes which were occasionally made hot.[119] Sometimes men were tied up in sacks with venomous reptiles to compel them to disclose their hidden, wealth.[120] Rice beaters or yokes taken from the plough, were also converted into instruments of torture. While one was placed under the back, a second was fastened over the chest. On either of it a Pindari pressed his whole weight, and while in this situation many were mercilessly beaten. About seventy persons died as result of this treatment on the occasion of the Pindari raid on Guntur in 1816. In other cases, while the heads of victims were held back by their hair, water was poured into their nostrils.[121]

When these mode of inducing the sufferers to disclose their property had been pursued until it was imagined that they had given

all they were possessed of, they were released to assist in conveying their property to the Pindari, camp, where they were employed in watering, feeding and cleaning horses. The work assigned to the women was to prepare food for their oppressors. The women were generally detained in the camp during the nıght and subjected to brutal outrages .without regard to age or rank. During their raid on Guntur the Pindaris seized a woman named Nemulla Achee and so numerous were those whose brutal lust she was doomed to gratify, that her body swelled to enormous size and later she expired. In another part of the ill-fated village, the same night a desperate struggle is said to have been, waged by the beautiful wife a *curnum.* She heroically resisted the united efforts of nine horsemen to effect her ruin and expired under the torture they inflicted on her. The more horrible part of it was that even death could not secure her person from insult, as those monsters perpetrated the crime which that lady saorified her life to prevent.[122]

In the town of Nundegama a Brahmin named Cheeralah Ramasem was seized in company with his family. He was first severely beaten, ashes were then applied to his mouth and nose until suffocation nearly ensued and although the helpless sufferer, gave up the whole of his valuables still they continued to torment him, when he showed to them the place where he had concealed his cooking utensisls and clothes. But disappointed in their expectation of booty, to avenge themselves, the Pindaris fastened round the body of this unhappy man bundles of straw which were set on fire.[123]

The case of Munugalury Matim Shetty is no less shocking. This poor man was first severely pressed with rice-beaters and a pot of boiling oil having been procured, margosa twigs were dispped into and the liquid sprinkled over him, so that his body was entirely covered with blisters. In this state a load was put on his head to be carried to the camp. He had not proceeded far when some body informed him that his daughter was dead. Overwhelmed by the anguish of his body and mind he threw down his load and fell prostrate. The horseman finding him immovable brought a large stone and dropped it on his head, thus killing him.[124]

They were so much devoid of human feelings that on a number of occasions they cut off the women's breasts and it was not an

unusual practice with them to cut off the hands of children, as the shortest way of procuring the bracelets from their arms.[125] Infants were torn from the arms of their mothers and thrown into wells or dashed to the ground. In one instance, a child having been thrown into the air, was nearly divided by a swordsman while in the act of falling. They also carried away young girls and sold them.[126]

These barbarous acts of Pindaris created such an alarm that people started deserting their hearths and home at the very mention of their name. Sometimes the alarm turned out to be based on even false reports. Elphinstone has given a very interesting account of the panic caused by fals report. he thus wrote, "I was then going to shoot rock-pageon, when a Mysore horseman came to me and said, 'the horse are come.' I thought he meant the Mysore horse but he explained that the Pindaris had attacked Nagpur. I galloped off through the village, which the people were abandoning with their effects. When I got home I found it was a false alarm.[127] Jenkins has also narrated another case of the panic that was created near the Residency at Nagpur on the a false report. he reported that one night in March, 1807 a violent alarm arose in the neighbourhood of the Residency, which scarcely subsided before daybreak. It had originated in the appearance of about 25 of the Raja's horsemen, who had attended the *sawaree* on the occasion of some visit he had made outside the city and who having remained behind the Raja did not reach the town until it was dark, when they entered suddenly and were taken for the Pindaris.[128]

During 1809-10 the roads from the Deccan across the Narbada had become so unsafe from the fear of the Pindaris that all travellers from Poona, Hyderabad and Nagpur, going towards the Ganga, went by way of Surguja and Sambalpur. Many thugs took advantage of this and they went from Bundelkhand and the *Doab* to that road and came back with immense booty for several years.[129]

The alarm caused by the apprehended irruptions of the Pindris had not been confined only to the states of the Sindhia and Nagpur but had also prevailed at Poona. The Peshwa had so little reliance on his own government to repel the incursions of those powerful horse, that he had on two occasions applied to the English Resident for employment of Poona subsidiary force for that purpose.[130]

In 1814-15-16 the Pindaris created much havoc. So great was the fear of these hordes that on one occasion in 1816 "an idle rumour" reached Madras of the arrival of the Pindaris at the Mount. Soon there was much uproar and the people started flying in despair to the walls of Madras. The alarm had originated in a few *dhobies* (washerman) and grass-cutters of the artillery having mounted their ponies, and, in mock imitation of the Pindaris, galloping about and playing with long bamboos in their hands in the vicinity of the Mount. The effect was such, however, that many of the civil servants and inhabitants on the Mount road packed up and moved to the fort for protection.[131]

In alarm the inhabitants deserted their village and sought refuge in the walled towns and in the recess of neighbouring woods and mountains.[132] We find more severe and violent manifestations of the alarm after the heart-rending barbarities practised by the Pindaris in guntur and other places in 1816. To escape violation at their hands the women rushed upon self-destruction. According to the report of the Cumbum Commission twenty-five women, several of whom had infants, drowned themselves. At Mavole ten women with six children, seeing their fathers and brothers murdered in their defence, destroyed themselves, by setting fire to the houses in which they had assembled and one woman tore out her tongue and instantly expired.[133] At the time of the Pindari incursion of Guntur the inhabitants of a village called Ainvale, rather than encounter their wellknown cruelties and presumptions, and submit to the violation of their wives and daughters, unanimously resolved to sacrifice themselves and their families and when their resistence was proved to be unavailing, they applied the torch of destruction to their inhabitations and perished with their relations in the general conflagration.[134] In the village named Puttur (3 coss from Temerecotta) of the several women who were ravished, nine drowned themselves. Among them three were *Brahmins*, one *Kumrewar*, two *Muslims* and one was of *Kumhar* or potter tribe.[135]

The effect of alarm used to damaging in many respects. To quote the Cambum Commission "The public injury done is not to be calculated in money; the pecuniary injury, though great, bears no proportion to the moral injury."[136] People lost faith in the government. On account of the feeling of insecurity the people of

the affected areas and even those who apprehended their attacks gave up, for a time, their usual professions and callings as a result of which trade and agriculture declined. On the occasion of the Pindari raid on Mirzapur (1812) the local merchants thus wrote, "It is a common custom of the Pindris that when they plunder any country and obtain great booty to return, reports say that other large bodies of the Pindaris have in contemplation to plunder this mart, therefore we are alarmed to follow our different callings and we are unable to send goods to the southward or procure from that quarter and we are also deterred from keeping goods and specie in our houses."[137] The agriculturists were not sure of reaping their harvest and so they were reluctant to invest. After the Pindari raid on Guntur the Governor general thus wrote to the Court of Directors, ."....we are apprehensive that a serious loss of revenue would be sustained should the cultivators continue to abandon their villages."[138] But these Pindari raids proved a boon to the revenue collectors who tried to defraud the government.[139]

Thus we find that the Pindaris had no political aspirations and the main underlying principle of their organization was to strike terror into the hearts of the people so that they might not offer any resistence or opposition and they might accomplish their sole purpose of plunder and return to their camp with rich booty. Towards this end they appear to have succeeded so long as they were not annihilated.

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9

The Pindari Leaders

We do not have any detailed information with regard to the parentage, character or achievements of the early Pindari leaders. It is probably because of the fact that the earliest Pindaris known to us were ordinary persons under the employment of the Maratha chiefs. As for example, with regard to the earliest known Pindari Nusru we know nothing more than the fact that he was a Muslim of the *Turaye* tribe who served Shahji, the father of Shivaji in 1633 in the capacity of a *bildar* and was attached to the park of artillery.[1] In recognition of his meritorious service he was promoted to the rank of *jamadar* of *bildars* and he continued to remain in that post until his death. The date of his death is not known to us.

Nusru was succeeded by his son Chiknie in that post. Nothing more is known about Chiknie except that he also remained a *jamadar* of *bildars* and died as such. Chiknie left behind him a son named Gaziuddin who stepped into the shoes of his father. Gaziuddin rose into prominence under Peshwa Baji Rao. He organized a small party of horsemen under him, and rendered useful services to Baji Rao who rewarded him with a *jagir* in 1730.[2] Later, when Baji Rao despatched an army under Malhar Rao Holkar to Mala in 1735, Gaziuddin also accompanied that expedition with his horsemen and died at Ujjain.[3]

Gaziuddin left behind him two sons named Gardi Khan and Shahabaz Khan. Gardi Khan was with his father at the time of his death. He was then aged about sixteen years. Malhar Rao appointed him in the place of his father and increased the number of horses under his command for aiding him during his campaigns.[4] In this post Gardi Khan proved so useful that Holkar shortly afterwards

honoured him with a *zaree* or golden flag. With these successes his power and influence increased very much and his horsemen came to form a large but distinct part of Holkar's army. From this it appears that Gardi Khan was industrious and, at the same time, a capable leader because in his time the Pindaris came to be of some consequence. Gardi Khan accompanied Holkar in his expeditions and proved himself very useful. Gardi Khan also died at Ujjain.

He left a son named Lall Muhammad who succeeded to his father's *durrah*. Little is known about Lall Muhammad who was perhaps an insignificant leader. He was succeeded by his son Imambaksh who belonged to the *Holkarshahi* branch. Though Imambaksh belonged to the genuine stock of the Pindaris, he was never a leader of any eminence.[5] He was nearly forty years of age, of a short stature and of fair complexion.[6]

When Gaziuddin died Shahbaz Khan, the younger brother of Gardi Khan was a child and so he remained at the place of his birth near Poona. On coming of age he entered the service of Ranoji Sindhia as a *bargir*.[7] He soon won the favour of Ranoji in an expedition into Hindusthan but was killed at Tonk in about 1744. Shahbaz Khan had two sons, Hiru and Burun both of whom turned out to be leading Pindaris.

Very little is known about the early career of these two brothers also. All that we know about them is that in the year 1797 Hiru and Burun offered their services to Bhopal which was then on enmity with Nagpur. But their offer was not accepted and so the Raja of Nagpur ordered them to lay waste the country of Bhopal. They ransacked Bhopal badly but the exaggerated reports of their booty excited the jealousy of the Raja of Nagpur, who, on their return, surrounded and plundered their camp and seized Burun who died in confinement, while his brother Hiru fled to Daulat Rao Sindhia at Poona and died soon afterwards at Burhanpur. The death of both these brothers to place in about 1800.

The mantle of Hiru descended upon his sons, Dost Muhammad and Wasil Muhammad. Dost Muhammad belonged to the *Sindhiashahi* branch and ranked in consequence next to Chitu.[8] He is said to have succeeded to his father's command in 1804.[9] He was then aged about thirty-two years, short and fat, with fair complexion.

He wore what was called a *"Koldar"* turban, which had a kind of loop coming down on one side of the forehead? Dost Muhammad's power is side to have increased much since the downfall of Karim in 1806, when his party was strengthened by the accession of many of Karim's former adherents.[10] The chief *sardars* under him were Wasil Muhammad (his brother), Gulam Hussain, Ramzan Khan and others. He had 5 guns, 800 matchlockmen, 4 elephants, a flag and a *naubat.*[11] His headquarters were at Bagrode near Bhilsa and he seldom went out to lead his *durrah* on expeditions.[12] He was very intimately connected with Daulat Rao Sindhia. he died in his camp at Churu Teeruth near Bhilsa on 7 February, 1815.[13]

After the death the sole command of the *durrah* devolved on his younger brother Wasil Muhammad, who distinguished himself by leading some bodies of freebooters, which plundered the British territories.[14] Wasil Muhammad was then twenty-six years of age, of middle size and of a complexion darker than his brother. He wore a plain turban.[15] In the opinion of Strachey, the British Resident with the Sindhia, Wasil Muhammad was "one of the most active marauders among the Pindaris."[16] The *durrah* of Wasil Muhammad consisted of 800 horses, 800 infantry and some guns.[15]

The leadership of the camps of Burn, after he was made prisoner, was transferred to Dubla *Jamadar* or Dubla Mehr, who was the original patron of another important leader Chitu.[18] Dubla Jamadar does not appear to have bene a leader of any consequence. On his death Rajan Khan, the elder son of Brun became the nominal head of the *durrah* but he tuned out to be weak and inefficient.[19] All the same his character was said to be "more respectable than almost any other Pindari leader." He seldom went not any distant enterprise.[20]

Rajan's younger brother Kadir Baksh was a Pindari chief of the first rank, who with Hiru, the father of Dost Muhammad, had been employed by the Raja of Berar in his wars against Bhopal.[21] Kadir Baksh had also been seized along with Burun and on the latter's death in confinement he was released at the demand of the Sindhia just before the commencement of the war between the Maratha powers and the British in 1803.[22] Kadir Baksh was short in stature and of a fair complexion. He wore a turban and Maratha short

drawers.[23] He has been represented as a brave ad enterprising man.[24] He belonged to the *Sindhiashahi* party. He is said to have been shot by a Sikh in Jaggu Bappu's service on 20 November, 1812 and he died on the following day.[25] Burun had one more son (besides Rajan and Kadir Baksh) named Deedar Baksh or Dadu Baksh, who, on the assassination of Kadir Baksh was promised a *Khelat* by Jaggu Bappu.[26] He later gave up predetory habits and took to cultivation and settled in a village near Bhopal.[27]

The descendants of Nusru appear to have ceased from now onwards to be any leader of note. Hence leadership now passed on to more capable persons outside the main line. Two very important leaders who now came to the fore on the strength of their ability and who for over a decade continued to dominate the scene, were Chitu and Karim Khan.

Chitu was considered to be one of the ablest of the Pindari leaders.[28] He was not a Pindari by origin. He is said to be the son of a Jat[29] who was a native of Mewat[30] near Delhi. He had been purchased when a child during a famine,[31] first as a slave and later adopted as a son by Dubla Jamadar, and regularly trained to the Pindari profession.[32] His superior abilities and during spirit raised him to the position of the head of the troops and he was rewarded for his services to the Sindhia by the title of Nawab Kamal Muhammad Moostoo Kurreem Jungh in 1803.[33]

Chitu has been represented as a man of middle stature and proportions, of a complexion called *"Sawrelah"*. neither very dark nor very fair, an oval face with whiskers, but no hair on his head.[34] But a slightly different description has been given by Sydenham according to whom Chitu had white hair, broken teeth and he dyed his beard.[35] He sometimes wore short Maratha drawers called *Ghoorghees* and sometimes long drawers but always a turban in the Pathan fashion.[36] In the opinion of Dhanna Pindari Chitu was a great warrior and soldier.[37] Amir Ali* described Chitu as a fine looking man, and a gallant leader. Therefore, in his opinion "He (Chitu) ought to have died on the field of battle, instead of in the miserable manner he died."[38] Chitu had a fair sense of justice and was always attentive to the need of his followers. To quote Amir Ali "No man that ever led a labour was juster in the division of plunder; no one

was ever more attentive to the wants and complaints of those under him than was Chitu Pindari."[39] That is probably the reason why he had a large number of followers. His personal activity and hardihood stimulated his soldiers to exertion nd emulation. "Nothing could tire him," remarked Amir Ali, "often I have seen him after a long and weary march, when it was as much as most of us could do to sit on our horses, dash out to the fort and exercise his noble steed, which bore him gallantly, as though he were only returning from a morning's ride of a few miles."[40]

Chitu was a Sindhiashahi Pindari, and he had fixed his abode aid the rugged hills and wild forests lying between the northern bank of the Narbada and the Vindhya mountains, to the west of Bhopal. His cantonments were near the village Nemawar opposite Hindia and he himself resided there are at Sutwas.[41] The Principal leaders under Chitu were-Ranjan Senior, Ranjan junior, Muhammad Panna, Ilahibaksh and Sheikh Dulls.[42]

Chitu had a son named Muhammad Panna who was a young man of nearly the same stature, complexion, dress and appearance as his father but was lean in his person.[43] According to Malcolm, "Panna was of mean appearance, looking dull and also deaf. He was at the same time without any consequence or influence."[44] Chitu had one more son named Ramzan who had been killed in 1807 by Jagnath Choudhary, an officer of the Raja of Nagpur.

Karim Khan, who rose into prominence after the death of Hiru and Burun, did not belong to the Pindari stock. The Britain version is that he was a Rohilla.[45] He is said to have been the son of Sheer Khan, who and his two brothers Sarmast Khan and Shamsheer. Khan were the sons of Rustam Khan. Sheer Khan had another son, besides Karim, named Hiru or Habibulla. Sarmast Khan had a son named Sandat Khan, who joined the camp of Holkar and Shamsher Khan's son Hussain Khan was a common horseman in the *durrah* of Dost Muhammad.[46] Both Sandat Khan an Hussain Khan appear to have been very ordinary persons.[47]

With regard to the parentage of Karim we get a different account from Karim himself. He is said to have personally stated to Malcolm that he was the son of Muhammad Daud, who commanded a body of plunderers in the service of Raghoba (Peshwa). Karim

further stated that he was born near Bersia and the earliest event of which had any recollection was his father's being killed when he (Karim) was only eight.[48] Of these two accounts respecting Karim's parentage it will be more desirable to accept Karim's version because it concerns his own father.

Karim Khan is represented to be a man of middle stature and dark complexion.[49] He is said to have dressed like a Maratha and he wore a turban in the Rajput fashion.[50] His principal followers were Namdar Khan, Khushal Kuer, Moti Kuer, Baksh Khan, Napir Muhammad, Bahadur Khan, Bhika Jamadar, Manglu, Hari Kuer, Jaimanglu, Subhan and Khairati.[51]

There was, however, a black spot in the character of Karim as pointed out by Dhanna Pindari. Whenever he (Karim Khan) saw a beautiful lady he was in the habit of carrying her forcibly to his house.[52] He also oppressed the *raiyats* on which account the Sindhia is reported to have put him in confinement.[53] But this reason for Karim's confinement in 1607 is not borne out by facts and circumstances as well shall see later. Again, with regard to his habit of kidnapping beautiful women we may say that in view of the general character of the Pindaris this does not seem to be something uncommon with him.

After the death of Karim's father, his uncle, Yar Muhammad continued to serve Raghoba till the latter joined the English. After that he entered the service of Mahadji Sindhia and remained there until Karim was twenty years of age.[54]

Karim is said to have stated to Malcolm that he had received a promise from Mahadji Sindhia of a settlement in Malwa. But the boast of Karim does not hold good because of the fact that when in 1797 Hiru and Burun offered their services to the Bhopal government and on being refused, became the scourage of that state, Karim, who had shared in the spoils, fled from Nagpur on the confinement of Burun and joined Daulat Rao Sindhia,[55] who had just ascended the *masnad* and was preparing with other Maratha chief to attack the Nizam. In the campaign which thus followed Karim asserted that he gained more from plunder than ever he did at any period of his life. But from his recent experience at Nagpur he thought it desirable to fly away from the Sindhia's army lest he

might meet the fate of Burun. He, therefore, came to Central India and offered his services to Yaswant Rao Holkar, who readily agreed to employ him, but Karim did not feel safe here also. So he withdrew and opened a double negotiation with his former master, the Sindhia and with Amir Khan,[56] leader of the Pathans. Both negotiations succeeded. The Pathan chief Amir Khan offered him an asylum an when afterwards Amir Khan walked over to the Sindhias camp and made himself master of the town and district of Shujawalpur.[57] This was later confirmed by the Sindhia in 1604.[58] The Sindhia also conferred upon Karim the title of Nawab.[59]

In the following year Karim Khan married a respectable lady of the Bhopal family with a view to improving his social status and furthering his political ambitions.[60]

Taking advantage of the absence of the Sindhia and Holkar, who were both engaged on the frontiers of 'Hindusthan', he conquered in 1805 several districts, namely, Ashta, Sehore, Ichawar, Narangpur and Shahjahanpur.[61] Karim was now at the zenith of his power and in the opinion of Malcolm "a Pindar chief appeared for the first time on the point of becoming the prince of a regular state."[62]

This, however, excited the jealousy of the Sindhia who advanced with the full determination of destroying him, but probably in view of Karim's formidable power the Sindhia felt that open conflict would not be advisable, so he took to ruse. Daulat Rao, who had encamped near the fortress of Sattanbari in the vicinity of Bersia, at first flattered Karim with the hopes of giving him that stronghold, when it was reduced.[63] To give full weight to these flattering delusions, the Sindhia proposed to pay a visit to Karim Khan, who though in general sufficiently wary and cautious, seems to have been duped by his own exaggerated expectation of splendid fortune. On this occasion Karim Khan prepared a *masnad* worth one lac and twenty-five thousand rupees covered with a rich cloth, which made one part of the presents he bestowed upon his visitor.[54] The Sindhia appeared enchanted by the extraordinary talents of Karim, both as a soldier and a statesman. All the requests of the Pindari chief were readily compelled with and he was also promised several valuable districts in the security of which he was to receive an

advance of four and a half lacs of rupees.[65] Sanads and rich robes were ordered to be prepared for the investiture. He was induced to visit the Sindhia to receive a *Khelat* and the keys of the fortress.[66]

In the midst of this seeming cordiality, some of the elder and more wary of the Pindari followers entertained doubts and they warned Karim of a possible conspiracy.[67] But Karim satisfied himself of perfect security. Malcolm is of the opinion that the Sindhia had managed either to bribe or deceive every individual in whom he reposed confidence.[68]

On the day appointed for his departure to take possession of his new districts Karim was invited to pay his last visit at which it was proposed to complete what remained of the settlement of his affairs?[69] In response to this Karim reached the Prince's camp with a much smaller retinue, accompanied, however at the Sindhia's desire by the greater part of his chiefs and relations.[70] The Sindhia received his visitor with singular honour. Sanads were called of the dressed were produced, and Karim could see nothing in between himself and the fulfilment of his hopes. In the meantime Daulat Rao Sindhia went inside on some pretext and armed men rushed from being the tent walls and arrested Karim with some of his principal adherents on the spot before any resistence could be offered.[71] A signal gun was fired to give the chiefs notice that the first part of the play had begun and in an instant the several chiefs who had been won over by the Sindhia and hand previous intimation of the plan were on horseback at the head of their respective retainers to surprize Karim's camp.[72] The Pindari camp was raided and the followers of Karim took to their heels. Some were killed and some were arrested among whom Karim's brother Hiru of Habibulla was also one. The Sindhia's army obtained an immense booty. This novel drama took place in 1807.

When the news of Karim's disaster reached his family at Shujawalpur, where his treasure and property were deposited, his mother, though extremely old, acted with much energy. She instantly laded all that was portable and fled towards the jungles of Bagli. But as the dread of the Sindhia's power made all in that quarter refuse her shelter, she moved to the westward and found a place of refuge in the territories of Zalim Singh, the regent of Kotah.[73]

Karim was kept as a prisoner at Gwalior for four years. Though strictly watched his confinement was not severe.[74] He had directed his Pindaris to plunder everywhere and particularly in the territories of the Sindhia. They acted in small parties; one of the largest that kept together, was that under his nephew, Namdar Khan.[75]

The fall of Karim Khan strengthened the *durrah* of other leaders, particularly of Chitu, under whom the two Ranjans and the two sons of Burun (Rajan Khan and Kadir Baksh) held a subordinate rank, and who had always been the avowed rival of Karim, though hitherto the power of the latter had greatly preponderated. The *durrah* of Dost Muhammad also acquired a great accession of strength by the ruin of Karim.[76]

After four years of confinement Karim managed to secure his release. Earlier Daulat Rao Sindhia had been refusing to set him free but he was at last tempted by an offer of six lacs of rupees,[77] for the payment of which Zalim Singh of Kotah became the surety.[78] In addition to this one lac more was paid to the officers of the court by whom this settlement was negotiated.[79] After Karim's release in 1811 an effort was made to obliterate memories of the past occurrances, by bestowing upon him valuable presents and other marks of honour.[80] But the wound he had received was too deep to be easily healed. Therefore, as soon as he was set at liberty, he began reassembling the Pindars from every quarter and he re-commenced his depredations as a result of which he was soon in possession of territories more extensive than he had enjoyed before his captivity.[81]

At this period Karim was joined by the whole force of Chitu and they now pounced upon the Sindhia's dominions. The spirit of revenge which led Karim to perpetrate atrocities in the territories of the Sindhia caused that prince bitterly to repent the bargain and his own short-sighted policy. Daulat Rao deputed Jaggu Bappu, one of his principal commanders to march immediately against Karim and to destroy him.[82] Chitu who had previously some differences with Karim was own over. Karim's camp was now attacked and he was routed in the province of Omutwarra.[83] Karim fled to Kotah. The ruler of Kotah (not disiring to offend the Sindhia) agreed to give shelter to Karim's family and property and advised him to seek help

from Amir Khan, the Pathan chief.[84] Prinsep, however, gives a slightly different account of this affair. According to him Karim Khan, after Chitu's deflection and defeat at the hands of Jaggu Bappu near Manohar Thana, flew straight to Amir Khan. The strong representations of the Siindhia and Holkar obliged the Pathan chief to place him in a kind of restart in which he remained until the end of 1816.[85] On this point again the accounts given by Malcolm and Thornton are slightly different. According to them Amir Khan under the pretence of recommending him to the good graces of Tulsi Bai, the favourite mistress of Yaswant Rao Halkar, transferred him to the care of Ghafoor Khan, a near relation of Amir Khan and his representative at the court of Holkar.[86] By him Karim was placed under restraint. This version is corroborated by the latter to Adam by Metcalfe Resident at Delhi confirming that Karim was put under restraint in Holkar's camp.[87] In spite of these minor differences as to the manner of Karim's confinement for the second time, there is no dispute with regard to the fact that Karim remained in confinement till a few months before the British started operations for the suppression of the Pindaris.

At last Karim effected his escape and joined his adherents at Bersia. As to the reason of his flight Karim stated to Malcolm that Daulat Rao Sindhia offered to forget and forgive the past, to restore his former possession and to grant Ashta and other districts provided he joined the Maratha confederacy against the English in an impending war with the latter.[88]

When in 1817 the British detachments were on the point of crossing the Narbada, Karim Khan (according to his own statement to Malcolm) joined, in conformity with Daulat Rao Sindhia's orders, the camp of Wasil Muhammad but soon they got confidential orders from the Sindhia to keep at a distance.[89] In resentment they plundered the Sindhia's territories but the British continued to advance. As a result of this Karim was so harassed and alarmed that he could only escape by abandoning his family and a great part of his luggage. He showed his willingness to join Holkar's army, which was then encamped near Mundisore.[90] But Holkar, refused to entertain them, because the British army was advancing and the presence of the Pindaris might prevent him (Holkar) from making peace. Then they marched towards

Jawad but their own internal quarrel and the advance of the British troops compelled them to separate and Karim at last surrendered unconditionally to the British.

Karim's brother Hiru or Habibulla was of very fair complexion, and rather short in stature.[91] Hiru was left as hostage with Daulat Rao Sindhia when Karim had been released in 1811 and he continued for long in the Sindhia's confinement along with Karim's son.

Namdar Khan was the son of Hiru, the brother of Karim. He was said to be of short stature, and of moderately fair complexion. he wore Maratha short drawers and a plain turban.[92]

The Ranjans were the sons of Dubla Mehr, who was the original patron of Chitu.[93] The eldest was called Bara Ranjan and was of low stature, middle proportions and dark complexion. He was maimed in the right hand by a sabre wound as a result of which he could not use that hand.[94] He is said to have dressed like a Maratha.[95] In 1807 the elder Ranjan went to Holkar, was entertained through Mir Khan and received a flag of cloth of gold, an elephant and the title of Nawab Raja Muhammad Ikhteearood Dowlah, besides the *jagirs* of the parganas of Turaneh and Kaitha.[96] He had a son named Ilahibaksh.[97]

The younger brother was called Chhota Ranjan. He was said to be tall, rather corpulent and fair.[98] He dressed like a "Hindusthani."[99]

Khuda Baksh and Kadir Baksh were the sons of Munnu Jamadar, who was a brave and enterprising Pindari and had been killed in one of the clashes between the *Sindhiashahi* and the *Holkarshahi* Pindaris, which appears to have been a common feature in the early days.[100]

Kadir Baksh belonged to the Holkar's party. He was tall, of middle proportions and of moderately fair complexion. He were a turban known as *Penchwah* or with the folds twisted.[101] About him Malcolm says that "When this man (Kadir Baksh) surrendered himself to me, I could hardly believe, from his manners and conversation that he was the person he was stated to be. His sole merit appeared to be his courage."[102] Kadir Baksh probably could not rise into prominence. So, we do not hear anything about him.

Tuku and Gulab Khan were both sons of one Ghaziuddin who is said to have distinguished himself under Holkar at the battle of Lakheri in 1792 in which that chief was defeated by the Sindhia.[103] On the death of their father who was assassinated by a petty *Jamadar* of Malwa, Holkar conferred the command held by their father on his sons and gave them elephants and standards.[104]

Tuku has been represented as a man of the middle size and fair complexion.[105] He continued to serve in the Holkarshahi party. He ranked next to Kadir Baksh.[106] But nothing is known about his brother Gulab Khan.

Sahib Khan and Bahadur Khan were the sons of Briam, who was the first of the family that became a Pindari under the command of the father of Tuku.[107] They were cantoned with their families in the *pargana* of Kunnode in conjunction with Tuku.[108] They were probably peace-loving and of sober nature. Therefore, they generally acted as *Vakils* in the courts of the Sindhia and Holkar respectively.[109]

There was another Pindari leader named, Bappu Khan, who was married to the sister of Tuku.[110] He was a *Holkarshahi* Pindari[111] and he owned the village of Herne as a *Jagir* from Holkar,[112] Bappu Khan was a *Jamadar* is Chitu's *durrah.*[113]

There were a number of other leaders about whom little is known to us. There was, for example, one Ramzan who had led the first expedition in the British territory of Mirzapur in 1812. This Ramzan should not be confused with Chitu's son of the same name who had been killed in 1807.

One of the most redoubtable of the Pindari leaders was a persons named Sheikh Dulla. In the opinion of Prinsep he was "the most adventurous of all the chiefs."[114] He had a small number of followers but his annual incursions into Berar, his attack with a few hundred horse of the garrison of Nagpur distinguished him as first of these freebooters in courage and exterprise.[115] He was so daring that in March, 1817 when he was confronted by a British *havildar's* party which had started firing on them, he boldly jumped into the Narbada with the best of his men and made his escape by swimming down the river.[116]

Sheikh Dulla was attached to Chitu's camp and his face bore scar marks of small pox.[117]

In Ferishta's History of Dekkan there are references to Pindari leaders, Ecluck and Ponapa. We are told that in the year 1690 Eeluck, having collected together numerous rabble, took Feroznagar. The Mughal general Ruhulla Khan was deputed to deal with him. Ruhulla Khan, by strategem, forced Eeluck to leave Feroznagar and took possession of that place. He then pursued Eeluck who fled to Hyderabad where he was seized by the *fauzdar* and put to death.[118]

Ponapa was another Pindari leader who had rebelled in the districts of Wakin Kera in the year 1704.[119] Gaziuddin Khan was ordered to punish Ponapa.[120] In 1705 Aurangzeb who was then in the decean himself moved to punish Ponapa. But Ponapa made an attack on the imperial baggage near Bahadurgarh and acquired a great plunder, besides setting fire to great quantities of valuable effects.[121] The Emperor then deputed a number of veteran generals such as Chin Qilich Khan, Hamiduddin Khan, Tarbet Khan the commander of the artillery) and others to conduct the siege of the fort of Wakin Kera. At this the Pindaris made proposals of peace through prince Kam Baksh and Chin Qilich Khan.[122] But though the Emperor repeatedly disapproved of them, they still continued their importunate solicitation. The *amras,* however, were a so alarmed at the enemy's increasing superiority that Aurangzeb immediately sent for Zulfiqar Khan.[123]

In the meantime Aurangzeb played a trick upon the Pindaris. he bestowed *Khelats* on Ponapa, with an elephant and gave some jewels to his mother.[124] But as soon as Zulfiqar Khan arrived Aurangzeb ordered him immediately to march against them. The Pindaris offered initial resistence but the Khan soon drove them away with a very great slaughter. Ponapa being disheartened, made his escape by a private road behind the fort.[125]

During the year 1706-7 Ponapa is said to have appeared again ad to have taken the fort of Bilkunda (belonging to Bijapur) in conjunction with Hindu Rao the Maratha leader. The fort of Basantgarh is also reported to have fallen into his hands.[126] The Pindaris also occupied Vellore, which, however, was soon retaken

by Terbat Khan.[127] Soon afterwards Aurangzeb died and we do not hear any more of Ponapa or any other Pindari leader.

From the above account of the activities of Ponapa it appears that he was a brave and adventurous leader. He has been described as 'One of their (Pindaris) first and most distinguished leaders.'[128] But we do not have any detailed account of his ancestry, character or personality.

This cheif is said to have been succeeded by Chingody and Hu Sawar[129] who are credited with a command of 15,000 horse at the third battle of Panipat.[130] We are not, however in a position to establish their connection with the line of Nusru or any other leaders mentioned above.

Sometimes Amir Khan is also considered as a leader of the Pindaris. He has even been said to be by habit and in principle "essentially a Pindari."[131] But I see no reason as to why he should be classified as a Pindri. He, in fact, headed a separate organization of the Pathans who were quite different from the Pindaris. The Pathans differed from the Pindaris inasmuch as they were composed of paid troops who did not subsist on disorderly plunder. They were, at the same time, not composed of cavalary only but reckoned among their forces, the most efficient native infantry in India, as well as very useful artillery.[132] They were, therefore, more regular in their habits and more disciplined in their demeanour than the Pindaris.

It is, of course, a fact that Amir Khan had intimate connection with some of the Pindari leaders and he sometimes employed the Pindaris in his army He was, at the same time, interested in their preservation also. But so were the Sindhia and Holkar. They both patronised the Pindaris and were no less interested in their continuance. The Pindaris, in fact, formed an "integral part"[133] of their armies. Similarly to Amir Khan the Pindaris, though unpaid, were sure allies for the advantage of "reciprocal support."[134] Moreoer, the Pindaris from the earliest time grew up into a formidable body under the patronage and shelter of the various Maratha leaders. In that case we should brand them also as Pindaris if we are to call Amir Khan a Pindari.

Before starting operations against the Pindaris the British Government concluded a number of treaties with the various Indian chiefs and among whom Amir Khan was also one. This is another reason why we should exclude him from the category of the Pindaris.

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16. Stachey to Minto, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 8 dated 31 July, 1812.
17. Fitzclarence, op. cit., p. 7.
18. Malcolm, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 440.
19. Ibid.
20. Malcolm to Adam, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 391 dated 24 July, 1818.
21. Jenkins Memorandum.
22. Ibid.
23. Ibid.
24. Ibid.

25. Strachey to Minto, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 10 dated 28 December, 1812.
26. Ibid.
27. Malcolm, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 448.
28. Thornton, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 414.
29. Fitzclarence, op. cit., p. 6; Jenkins Memorandum.
30. Malcolm, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 440.
31. Marshman, op. cit., p. 305;Jenkins Memorandum.
33. Ibid.
34. Jenkins Memorandum.
35. Sydenham to Russell, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 5 dated 20 May, 1814.
36. Jenkins Memorandum.
37. Deposition of Dhanna Pindari, dated 5 April, 1812, op. cit.
38. Taylor, op. cit., p. 270.
39. Ibid., p. 271

* Amir Ali was a thug.

40. Ibid.
41. Malcolm, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 442.
42. Sydenham to Russell, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 5 dated 20 May, 1814.
43. Jenkins Memorandum.
44. Malcolm to Metcalfe, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 70 dated 8 April, 1819.
45. Jenkins to Barlow, Foreign Political Consultation No. 78 dated dated 30 April, 1807.
46. Martin, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 144 ft.; Marshman, op. cit., p. 305.
47. Jenkins Memoradum.
48. Malcolm, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 449.
49. Jenkins Memorandum.
50. Ibid.
51 Sydenham to Russell, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 5 dated 20 May, 1814.
52. Deposition of Dhanna Pindari dated 20 March, 1812, op. cit.
53. Ibid.

54. Malcolm, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 449.
55. Malcolm, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 450: Thornton, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 408.
56. Ibid.
57. Ibid.
58. Ibid.
59. Thornton. op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 409.
60. Malcolm. op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 451.
61. Ibid.
62. Ibid.
63. Malcolm, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 452.
64. Ibid., p;. 453, Thornton, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 409; Pindari Papers, p. 10, mention the cost at Rs. 1 lac.
65. Thornton, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 410; Malcolm, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 453.
66. Pindari papers, op. cit., p. 10.
67. Thornton, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 410; Malcolm, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 453.
68. Malcolm, op. cit., p. 453.
69. Ibid., p. 454.
70. Pindari Papers, pp. 10.11.
71. Ibid., p. 11; Balcolm, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 454; Thornton, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 411.
72. Pindari Papers, p. 11; *Broughton, Letters written in a Maratha Camp during the year* 1809, p. 204.
73. Malcolm, op. cit., Vol. 1. p. 455; Thornton, op. cit., p. 412.
74. Ibid.
75. Malcolm, op. cit., Vol.1, p. 455.
76. Prinsep, op, cit., Vol. 1, p. 44.
77. Malcolm, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 455; Thornton, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 413; Prinsep, op. cit. Vol. 1, p. 45.
78. Malcolm, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 455; Prinsep. op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 45.
79. Malcolm, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 455.
80. Malcolm, op. cit., Vol. 4. p. 413.
81. Malcolm, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 456; Thornton, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 414.
82. Malcolm, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 456; Prinsep. op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 46.
83. Malcolm, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 457.
84. Prinsep, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 457.

85. Ibid.
86. Malcolm, op. cit., p. 457; Thornton, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 414.
87. Metcalfe to Adam, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 10 dated 22 April, 1814.
88. Malcolm, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 457.
89. Ibid., p. 458.
90 Ibid., pp. 458-59.
91. Deposition of Muhammad Qasim Pindari dated 6 April, 1816, Foreign Secret Consultation, No. 3 dated 1 June, 1816.
92. Jenkins Memorandum.
93. Ibid.
94. Sydenham to Russell, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 5 dated 20 May, 1814.
95. Jenkins Memorandum.
96. Ibid.
97. Sydenham to Russell, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 5 dated 20 May, 1814.
98. Jenkins Memorandum.
99. Ibid.
100. Ibid.
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102. Malcolm, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 435.
103. Jenkins Memorandum.
104. Ibid.
105. Ibid.
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107. Jenkins Memorandum.
108. Ibid.
109. Mc Naghten, op. cit., p. 115.
110. Deposition of Fazel Khan, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 940 dated 24 July, 1818.
111. Deposition of Bappu Khan, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 939 dated 24 July, 1818.
112. Deposition of Fazel Khan, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 940 24 July, 1818.

113. Caulfield to the Resident with the Sindhia, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 936 dated 24 July, 1818.
114. Prinsep, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 41.
115. An Officer, op. cit., p. 98.
116. Prinsep, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 400; Mc Naghten, op. cit., p. 79.
117. Sydenham to Russell, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 5 dated 20 May, 1814.
118. Scott, Ferishta, Vol. 2, pp. 79-80.
119. Ibid., p. 115.
120. Ibid.
121. Ibid.
122. Ibid., p. 116.
123. Ibid.
124. Ibid., pp. 116-17.
125. Ibid., p. 118.
126. Ibid., p. 121.
127. Ibid.
128. An Officer, op. cit., p. 94.
129. Ibid.
130. Ibid.
131. *Poona Residency Correspondence,* Vol. 13, Part II, p. 881; Political letter to court dated 19 May, 1818, para 3.
132. Bladensburge, op. cit., p. 54.
133. Secret General Letter to Court dated 4 December, 1817, para 2.
134. Ibid.

10

Military Operations against the Pindaris and their Settlement

After obtaining assurances of support from the different powers of India for the extirpation of the Pindaris the problem before the Governor-General was to decide upon a date for starting military operations against them. In this connection we must note that towards the close of 816 the Governor-General had communicated to the Directors and his council's, "Unanimous opinion that the adoption of vigorous measures for the early suppression of the Pindaris was become an indispensable obligation of our public duty."[1] With respect to the time it was resolved not to commerce operations until the following season.[2] One of the reasons was that the current of events appeared to be tending fast to produce a state of public felling and opinion more and more favourable to the views of the British Government. So it wanted to strike when the iron was red. Moreover, the alarm and anxiety of the Sindhia, the prospect of further improvement in the relations of the British Government with Nagpur, and of comprehending Jaipur within the circle of British influence as well as the time thus given for the newly formed pacific relation with Nepal to take effect—all these considerations favoured the postponement of active operations against the Pindaris until the following season.[3]

In pursuance of this plan the Governor-General came down to Kanpur on 13 September, 1817 in order to work out the details.[4] October 10 was fixed for the British troops to meet in advanced

camps near the Sindhia's frontier.[5] But the bad weather experienced by Hislop's army retarded his progress.[6] Moreover, Hislop fell seriously ill at Hyderabad.[7] Under this circumstance his troops could not move forward according to the schedule. As a result of this the division from the Deccan on whose movements the divisions under Maj. Gen. Marshall and Lt. Col. Adams were to regulate their advances did not cross the Narbada till 15 October.[8] Therefore, the Governor-General had to postpone assembling the centre and right divisions of the main army till October 20.[9]

The postponement of the date, however, gave advantage to the Pindaris, who comprehending the extent of danger to which they were about to be subjected, made prompt arrangements for carrying off their families with, whatever valuable articles they possessed, and abandoned their territories before the British troops fell upon them. The consequence was that they did not retire broken into small parties or in a state of utter confusion as might have been the case otherwise.[10]

With regard to the plan of operations the Governor-General contemplated to push forward unexpectedly several divisions so as to make it impossible for the various states to make any combined move against the British on this occasion. The success of the plan depended on the secrecy with which the preparations could be made, the choice of proper points to be seized and the speed with which the British forces should reach the designated stations.[11] All the preparations were completed so quietly that to quote Hastings, "When I reached this place (Kanpur) I found reason to be convinced that the native powers did not at all comprehend the extent or forwardness of our equipment."[12] The formation of magazine of grains on the frontier (for the use of the British soliders) was also disguised by a bad harvest in that quarter, which furnished the execuse for transportation of corn thither.[13]

In all other respects the arrangements were so admirably conducted by the few public functionaries confidentially entrusted with them, that no suspicion of any intended stir was afloat. In the most distant battalions destined for service there was no surmise of impending movement about five or six days previous to its being actually in march.[14] The suddenness with which the British forces

occupied the heart of the inimical countries, added to the efficiency of the means employed, caused all the essential parts of the business to be finished completely in hardly more than three months.[15]

Before opening the campaign it was decided to give compensations to the neutral or feudatory countries through which the British troops passed for the damage done by encamping the troops even for a night, where the ground was under crop. The injury was estimated by the chief commissariat officer and the principal men of the village concerned, and the compensation agreed on by them was paid on the spot in cash. This measure had very good effect upon the local people who left convinced of the sense of equity of the British Government.[16]

Instructions were also given to the officers concerned with respect to the Pindaris who might be captured in course of the operations. The officers had been directed by the Governor-General to inflict capital punishment after summary trial and conviction of the Pindari chiefs or their followers who might be made prisoner, excepting by voluntary surrender. The submissive or peaceful raiyats (though dependent on the Pinddaris) were to be exempted from such punishment. But the instigators were to be punished like the former category.[17] With regard to the lands vacated by the Pindaris, the Secret Committee had decided that such lands should be disposed of among those powers who might have aided the British in their operations. The Governor-General, however, made a slight deviation and decided to make over the forts and districts, evacuated by the Pindaris to states who had "deep interest in preventing the return of the former possessors (Pindaris)." Accordingly, Hastings directed that lands occupied by the Pindaris but previously belonging to Bhopal were to be delivered to the Nawab (of Bhopal). Similarly lands granted to the Pindaris by the Sindhia were to revert back to him. The real motive behind the policy of returning the lands to the original owners was to seek the co-operation of the various Maratha chiefs who appeared to be reluctant. The inhabitants of villages were allowed to retain the property which they might seize by plundering parties of Pindaris."

With regard to the plan of action it was determined to close in from every side upon the headquarters of the Pindaris on the

Narbada river.[23] Moreover, the Pindaris had to be pressed and driven away so quickly as to preclude the possibility of any sudden support being afforded to them.[24] Pursuit was to be undertaken with an evident prospect of immediate advantage and was to cease as soon as that prospect disappeared.[25] Accordingly, the Marquees of Hastings assembled two large armies*, the Grand Army in Northern India under his personal command and the Army of the Deccan under Sir Thomas Hilsop, which advancing from the north and south, were to close in upon and crush the Pindaris, whilst the various divisions were at the same time directed to keep a watch upon the Maratha powers. The theatre of operation included the extensive region—from the river Jamuna on the north to Krishna and Tungabhadra on the south.[26]

The Grand Army or the Bengal Army consisted of three principal divisions and a reserve.[27] On 16 October, 1817 the Governor-General commenced has march from Kanpur and having joined the central division of the Bengal Army at Secundra, crossed the Jamuna on the 26th and reached his destined position on the Kali Sindh on 6 November. The left division had previously assembled under Maj. Gen.[28] Marshall in Bundelkhand and was prepared to advance towards Saugar, with a view to co-operating with the right of Hislop's army against the Pindari posts. Marshall's division was expected to assist in dislodging the Pindaris from their haunts and in destroying them.[29] Marshal was also directed in communication with the Political Agent of Bundelkhand to form a plan for the defence of the frontier against the irruption of the parties of Pindaris.[30] The right division assembled at the same period ready to advance to Dholpur on the Chambal, if necessity arose; while the reserve commanded by Sir David Ochterlony assembled near Rewaree. This part of the British force was destined to cover Delhi to support the negotiations going on with the Rajput states,[31] to perform the same office with regard to Amir Khan and eventually to attack the latter or interpose between him and Holkar, if they should manifest any perverse or hostile feeling.[32]

Besides these principal divisions of the Bengal Army destined for active operations, two detachments were formed, designed principally for purposes of defence, but capable of taking the

offensive, if necessary. One of these under Brig. Gen. Toone was posted near Outaree, on the frontier of Bihar.[33] Maj. roughsedge, commanding the Ramgarh battalion (Bihar) was directed to advance to protect Bihar frontier. The other detachment under Hardyman was formed at Mirzapur[34] and thence advanced to Rewa, for the purpose of securing the passes in that country and the adjacent districts, in order to defeat any attempt of the Pindaris to penetrate into the British territories in that direction, while the part of the force was in advance. A force was also stationed at Cuttack, sufficient to guard that frontier from the entrance of the Pindaris through Nagpur.[35] Toone was also charged with the defence of the Raja of Nagpur's territories.[36]

The movements of the Grand Army were made with the object of reducing to terms the Sindhia, who was in collusion with the Pindaris.[37] On the advance of the army across the Jamuna the Sindhia found himself pressed from opposite directions by the approach to two points on his frontier, within two marches of his capital, of two strong divisions which were interposed between him and all his corps stationed at Bahadurgarh, Ajmer Jawad, Badnawar and Shahjehanpur.[38] He, therefore, lost no time in concluding the treaty (5 November, 1817) with the British as we have noted earlier.

The Deccan army was composed mainly of five divisions and a reserve.[39] The first division was commanded by Hislop in person and this was to have crossed the Narbada in the direction of Hindia in conjunction with the third division under Malcolm. But this arrangement was frustrate by the detention of Hislop at Hyderabad on accôunt of illness. The division of Malcolm, therefore, crossed alone, about the middle of November and that of Hislop at a later date. The fifth division under Lt. Col. Adams was to cross the river at Hoshangabad, at the same time with the other divisions to act in advance.[40] The Nagpur Subsidiary Force was also to serve under the personal command of Adams.[41] The second division under Brig. Gen. Doveton, had a position assigned to it in the neighbourhood of Akolee, on the Nizam's frontier, to protect the line from attack, to support, if required, the troops in advance and to sustain the British interests at Nagpur.[42] The fourth division under Brig. Gen. Smith was intended to perform the similar service with regard to the Peshwa's territory and at the same time to keep Holkar in check.

Considerable bodies of troops were also maintained at Hyderabad, Poona and Nagpur as precautionary measures.[43] The corps of reserve was assembled on the frontier of the ceded districts under the Presidency of Fort St. George and was subsequently advanced to a position on the Krishna, from which point it could support the troops either at Hyderabad or at Poona, a separate detachment occupied the southern country recently ceded by the Peshwa. The Gujarat field force under William Keir, was also assembled in advance of Baroda, ready to move into Malwa.[44]

The plan of campaign provided for a general movement to the line of the Narbada and accordingly the Army of the Deccan made rapid marches through the dense jungles and beyond the Tapti river.[45]

The British army numbered about 1,11,000[46] men as hereunder:

The Grand Army	40,000
The Army of Deccan	70,400
	1,10,400

Against this, the number of forces of the various Indian powers including the Pindaris were as follows:[47]

	Horse	*Foot*	*Guns*
Sindhia	14,250	16,250	140
Holkar	20,000	7,940	107
Peshwa	28,000	13,800	37
Bhonsla	15,766	17,826	85
Amir Khan	12,000	10,000	200
Nizam	25,000	20,000	—
Pindaris	15,000	15,000	20
Total:	1,30,000	87,316	589

On the eve of the starting of operations the line of country occupied by the principal *durrahs* of the Pindaris stretched from Garispur in Bhilsa to the vicinity of Kali Sindh, a distance of about 80 to 100 miles.[48] On the left side of this region was Wasil

Muhammad's *durrah* of 8,000 horse with 5 guns. The *durrahs* of Karim Khan and Hol-karshani, 8,000 horse and foot with 5 or 6 guns, occupied a central position and Chitu's durrah of 7,000 horse and foot and 10 guns was on the right.[49] Wasil Muhammad and Mazhur Baksh were near Ganj Basouda. Chitu had moved on the 27th and 29th October from Pipurtoun with 13 to 14,000 horse and foot and 7 guns to the village of Kokra on the river Parbati, 35 miles from Pipurtour. Karim Khan intended to proceed to Islamnagar for entertaining troops. His wife and baggages had been sent to Kotah.[50] A body of the Pindaris under Nazar Baksh was said to be on march towards Bundelkhand in the direction of Chatterpur.[51]

When Narbada became fordable, Malcolm crossed the river near Hindia, and Lt. Col. Adams at Hoshangabad on 15 and 16 November (1817) respectively. It was originally intended that Malcolm's force should be formed into two separate columns, so that he might prevent the escape to the westward of Chitu's *durrah,* against which his operations were especially directed, and at the same time keep up communications with Adam' corps on his right, if a forward pursuit should become necessary.[52] On 16 November the reserve also crossed the Narbada at Hindia.[53]

The Marquess of Hastings wrote to Hislop not to defer any attack upon the Pindaris. He held that "a day lost at this juncture might entail material inconveniences."[54] On the night of 15 November, however, Hislop at Hurda received the news of the Peshwa's revolt and attack on the British at Kirki.[55] So he judged it advisible to delay his advance across the Narbada and even to fall back some marches. While he thus retired across the Tapti he directed Malcolm to proceed with a reduced force to attack and dislogdge Chitu, leaving his own further operations to be governed by events.[56] Necessary instructions were sent to Smith, Pritzler and Munro relative to the security of British interests in the Peshwa's territories.[57]

Brig. Gen. Doveton was directed to demand the surrender of Asirgarh, which was to have been delivered up under the terms of the recent treaty with the Sindhia. Lt. Col. Deacon was ordered to move to Jafarabad, and maintain communication between the

second division and its principal depot at Jalna.[58] On 29 November Hislop arrived with the first division at Hindia, the fort of which had been occupied on 22 November.[59]

Meanwhile Malcolm marched with the third division in 18 November to Sundalpur, on 19 to Hirangaon and thence to Ashta (into Malwa) which had been Chitu's principal cantonment and subsequently to Talein, where he captured a fort held by one of Chitu's officers. Chitu, on hearing of his approach hastily retired with his whole force towards Holkar's camp. His flight was so rapid that Malcolm had no chance of coming up with him. Malcolm, therefore, moved westward towards Ujjain with a view to forming junction with Hislop who had now crossed the Narbada and was moving in a northern direction.[60]

On 20 November the Marques of Hastings wrote to Hislop that the Pindaris were generally quitting the territories which they possessed and were moving towards north-west with their families and valuables and directed him to pursue them "vigorously."[61] On the following day he wrote to Hislop that hostilities between the Peshwa and the English should not, in any case, interfere with the active pursuit of the Pindaris.[62] On 23 November Capt. Roberts routed a party of 400 Pindaris in the ghats near the Kotah country.[63]

As soon as the third division crossed the Narbada, the *durrah* of Wasil Muhammad moved to Imlami, on the road to Seronj. Col. Adam pursuing them arrived at Chiklod on the 26th. But having learnt that Wasil Muhammad and Karim Khan with their *durrahs* had gone southwards, Adam, with a view to making a combined attack upon the Pindaris of Wasil Muhammad marched to Raisein, where he heard of the movements of the left division of the Grand army under Marshall.[65] Marshall reported on 16 November his arrival at Rehly for the proposed combined attack upon the *durrahs* of Wasil Muhammad.[66]

This corps was near Rehly on 18 November and was to march by Sugar and Rathgarh to Ganj Basouda, where it was expected to arrive on 27 November.[67] the fifth division was to march on the 24th to Raisein, in the direction of Bersia and to arrive there on the 26th having established a post at Gulgaon on the Bhopal frontier. At the

same time the *durrah* of Karim Khan had moved on the night of the 20th from Bersia towards Agar Barkhera, and Wasil Muhammad had gone to Gutwa Dunga, with the intention of proceeding to Sahgah.[68]

Malcolm leaving a post at Ashta marched in pursuit of Chitu and reached Mainapur on 24 November. Here intelligence was received that some of the Pindaris occupied the fort of Talein at a distance of 32 miles, and at night 1,200 Mysore horse marched under Capt. Grant and surrounded the place when the garrison surrendered. They consisted of some horsemen under Wahed Kaur, Chitu's adopted son.[69] The third division arrived on the 25th at Shujawalpur and Talein the next day. On 30 November the *durrahs* of Karim and Wasil Muhammad were reported to be retreating in search of resting place for their families who were with them.

In view of this the next points fixed for the advance of Marshall, Adams and Malcolm were Raghugarh, Rajgarh and Susner. Adams arrived at Rajgarh on 4 December and on the 8th he was at Manohar Thana, 19 miles north-west of that place.[70] Marshall instructed Gen. Frith to detach half the second battalion second Native infantry with field pieces to the fords at Dholpur to prevent the passage of any party of the Pindaris in that direction. To philpot he wrote to march with the detachment under his command with expedition by Jhansi and Duttea to the ford over Sindh and to halt there until he received intelligence about the Pindaris and to pursue them accordingly.[71]

Malcolm reached Agar with the principal part of the third division on 4 December where he heard that Chitu had turned towards Mahidpur, with the apparent object of joining Holkar's army. But as he had not sufficient force to contend with the army of Holkar, he countermarched on the 6th with a view to joining Hislop's headquarters and halted at Ursoda (3 miles south-west of Tajpur) on 11 to await further orders.[72]

On 2 December the first division was at Nemawar on the right bank of the Narbada, opposite Hindia. Hislop now returned northward to co-operate in the general plan of the campaign, and to keep a watch on Holkar's army. He accordingly marched up the high road to Ujjain, on the left of Kali Sindh river, giving Malcolm orders to march the third division up to the right of that stream. Keir was

directed to march with the Gujarat division from Baroda to Ujjain.[73] On 12 December, the headquarters of the Army of the Deccan, and the first and third divisions were concentrated at Ujjain, where they encamped on the left bank of the Sipra river.[74]

As a result of the above movements the Pindaris were expelled from Southern Malwa. Flying from covering columns that were closing in on them, they came into collision with detachments of the Grand army which was conforming to the movements of the Deccan Army as described above.[75] In the meantime a virulent type of cholera broke out in the Grand Army. The malady spread not only among the sepoys but among the Europeans also.[76] In spite of that the Marquess of Hastings marched on 10 November by way of Terait, Talgaon, Pahuj to Erich on the right bank of the Betwa river,[77] hoping that the health of the troops would improve. But his hopes were belied and there were very heavy casualities in his army.

The centre division occupied the ground near Erich from November 20 to the end of the month. During this time the Governor-General heard that the Sindhia had invited the Pindaris, who were attacked in Southern Malwa, to retire to Gwalior. Hastings hastened to cut off the two *durrahs* that had been expelled from Southern Malwa. A detachment of the cavalry bridgade under Col. Philpot and battalion of Native Infantry marched by Samthar and Jhansi to Barwa Sagar and arrived at Sunari on 7 December, passed the for on the following day and encamped at Chimak, a position commanding the only road between Narwar and Gwalior.[78] At the same time Maj. Cumming, who was at Rathgarh with his troops was sent to Tehri; while Brig. Gen. Firth detached a party of infantry with two field pieces to the fords of Chambal at Dholpur.[79]

On 2 December the second division of the Grand Army was at Laberia, on the 6th at Imork, on the 8th at Bhandar, on the 9th at Sunari ford, where it was within 28 miles of Gwalior, and considerably nearer the Sindhia's position to the pass of Narwar. The western ghat near the Chambal as well as the ford at Dholpur were, at the same time, occupied by the right divisions, and the fords of the Jamuna by detachments from the frontier stations.[80] All communication was thus cut off between the Sindhia and the

Pindaris. In the meantime Maj. Gen. Donkin marched on 2 December, reaching Dublane on the 8th and from there moved to Bundi on the 10th and to Thekeria on the 11th. On the 14th he reached Sultanpur where it was ascertained that the Pindaris having attempted to enter Haroti by the Umri pass, close to Digdaoli, were repulsed by the Kotah troops.[81] The *durrah* of Karim Khan and Wasil Muhammad has, as stated above, retreated before Col. Adams towards Kolaras and Narwar.[82]

On 8 December Marshal marched from Seronge and arrived at Nayasera on the 12th and moved in direction of Kolaras. Finding themselves pressed and cut off from Gwalior by Philpot's detachment, the Pindaris turned south-east from Narwar to Thara on 6 December and being followed preferred to encounter Kotah troops.[83] On the 8th the united *durrahs* of Karim and Wasil Muhammad marched from Puri. On the 9th they were at Betulgarh, but finding the passages of the hills west of Puri and north of Shahabad guarded by Kotah troops, they fell back on the Nimgha on the Kura river, and attacked the Ghat at Laddana near Sirsi on the 12th. The Next day they halted at Bechola.[84]

Marshall who was 22 miles away, marched at midnight of the 13th but owing to the bad state of the road he could not arrive at the foot of the ghat before 2 o'clock next afternoon. In the meantime, the Pindaris moved away with their baggage and families, leaving 1,000 horses to cover their rear. Marshall's cavalry immediately mounted the ghat, preceded by an advanced guard of infantry. As soon as the Pindaris were sighted, Col. Newberry pushed on with the cavalry, and cut up 40 or 50, the remainder dispersing in all directions. The cavalry returned after a pursuit of 10 miles in course of which they sustained a loss of ten soliders (killed and wounded) and 26 horses.[85] The Pindaris made no attempt to fight but fled towards Sultanpur, to which place Gen. Donkin was advancing, having crossed the Chambal, a few miles below Kotah. On December 17-18 at 2 a. m. Donkin's cavalry fell in with one of the Pindari camp, and committed great havoc among the astonished marauders, who had imagined themselves in a secure retreat. The wife, son and female servants of Karim Khan were captured together with the whole of the baggage.[86] On the same morning Col. Gardiner

fell upon the rear of 400 straggler and cut up 20 of them and during the day they captured the crimson velvet state *howdah* of Karim's elephant, 2 pair of *naubats,* 3 standards and about 50 camels.[87]

The Pindaris finding all accesses to the Chambal blocked, turned to the south when pressed by Marshall on the 16th directing their course between the Sindh and Parbati rivers, upon shergarh and Gogal Chapra. On the 15th Adams was at Gogal Chapra. In the meantime Maj. Clarke made a march of 30 miles with the cavalry up the right bank of Sindh and continued his pursuit by way of Uthara and Phul Barod, until he came up and dispersed the Pindaris with a loss of 15 killed at Piplia on December 20. Adams took up the pursuit and the first Rohilla cavalry under Capt. Roberts, after a march of nearly 50 miles, came up with 400 Pindaris near Chubar and pursued them for two hours through jungle and over rocks, only 50 or 70 escaping while the Rohillas lost 5 men and 9 horses.[88] The two *durrahs* continued their flight towards Agar, but learning of Holkar's defeat at Mahidur, they turned back towards Chappargatta, on the Ur, 7 miles west of Susner. Here they halted for sometime and subsequently joined the remains of Holkar's army beyond Chambal.[89]

Meanwhile Chitu Pindari with his *durrah* of 8,000 men had thrown himself in the rear of Holkar's army, until the advance of the British forces obliged him to cross the Chambal. For some days previous to December 20, he was encamped at Singloli, 25 miles south-west of Kotah. He then proceeded to Jawad at the invitation of Jaswant Rao Bhao.[90]

After thus being expelled from Southern Malwa the scattered bands of the Pindaris took refuge in jungles on the left bank of he Chambal river. In the meantime though Amir Khan himself had surrendered, at the close of 1817 operations were undertaken by Sir David Ochterlony to subdue some of his commanders who had adopted a hostile attitude following the events in the Maratha states in the month of November.[91]

In December, 1817, a movable column was equipped at Sipri under Maj. Gen. Brown for the pursuit of the Pindaris. The force marched towards the Chambal by the Lodanaghat, Bichi Tal and Nahargarh and was at Chapra Barod on January 1, 1818. Halting at

Sonel on January 6 and 7, Brown reached Pipila on January 9 and here he subdued the insubordinate part of Holkar's army at Rampura.[92]

After preventing the Pindaris from crossing the Cambal below Kotah the headquarters of the second division towards the end of December, arrived at Gaintha Ghat on that river. The Pindaris being now driven into the confined tract of country towards Mewar, Donkin determined on closing the northern outlets of this tract; Brown and Adams guarded the eastern avenue of escape; while to the south were the Deccan and Gujarat divisions. Accordingly, having recrossed the Chambal, Donkin concentrated his division at Bundi on December 31, 1817. On January 1' he ascended the Bundi pass. Marching by Shahpura he reached Sanganer on January 8, 1818.[93]

In the meantime the Gujarat division advanced from Mandesar on January 3 in search of Chitu's *durrah* in the direction of Jawad. On January 5 the Bombay division under Keir was also reported to have marched in quiet of Chitu's *durrah*.[94] Reaching Bantwari on the same day Keir marched at 2 o'clock next morning in the direction of Barra Sadri. But owing to the dark night and rugged and difficult roads he was unable to reach his destination, 40 miles away, and after proceeding 20 miles he encamped at Mangiri. on January 7 he attempted to surprise the enemy of whose situation intelligence had only then been received, and proceeded towards Dera at 10 p. m., but on arrival at 9 next morning he found that the Pindari had already left, leaving five guns and some baggage, which were captured.[95]

In the meantime Grant's detachment which had been searching for Karim's *durrah* arrived at Palsoba on January 4 and thence proceeded to Jawad, arriving there at daybreak. But Karim had already left to join Chitu. However, Grant halted there until January 9.[96] Thus on January 8, Keir with Gujarat division was at Manjiri and Dera, Grant with a detachment at Jawad, Donkin with the second division at Ganganer and Brown with a force at Rampura.

On January 12, Donkin moved with a part of his force in the direction of Udaipur where the Pindaris of Chitu's *durrah* had fled. The foot artillery and infantry under Col. Venerenen were directed

to bring on the commissariat depot from Dublana to Sanganer.[97] From there orders had been sent to Gardner to march on January 11 with the irregular horse upon Daneta near Chitor, where a large body of the Pindaris was said to be assembled; but on their arrival at Nathdwara, on January 13, it was ascertained that the *durrahs* had proceeded in a southerly direction. On the same day Donkin's headquarters were at Dhosir, near Gangapur where they halted on January 14 and 15. It was ascertained that the Pindaris had fled in two parties, one in the direction of Gujarat and the other towards Malwa. Donkin accordingly returned to Sanganer on January 17 recalling Gardner's horse. On January 23 he arrived at Shahpura.

Keir was then in Mewar and when he moved in the direction of Gujarat frontier, he heard from the Rana of Udaipur that Chitu had fled in the direction of Banswara with 3,000 horseman and 2,000 other followers an some elephants and camels.[98] Hence, on January 17, Keir marched from Deoda towards Partapgarh but soon he heard that a body of the Pindaris numbering several hundreds had a collected at Mundapi, a village of Jaswant Rao Bhao.[99] So he marched on January 19 and after covering a distance of 20 miles from Parli, came in sight of the place. The Pindaris rushed out of the village in several directions but were pursued by the cavalry, who killed about 60 of them. On January 23 the whole force was assembled at Neemuch. The detachment under Grant meanwhile marched to Chitor and thence to Nimkhera and Jawad, arriving at Mandesar on January 18 without having met with the Pindaris.[100]

During this period the Pindaris, when pressed fled collectively, if possible; otherwise they broke up into small parties, again to unit. Chitu's *durrah* kept distinct from the rest, while Karim's and Wasil Muhammad's were combined at the opening of the campaign. The latter on Grant's approach, fled near Jawad in a westerly direction until the British troops evacuated the position between them and the Chambal, when they doubled suddenly back by Neemuch. Some of these were seen by the Mysore horse near Palsoda, when they were making their escape to the Chambal, which they crossed north of Gangraur and encamped at Goraria. Intelligence about their movements reached Adams, who detached the 5th Bengal cavalry at 11 p. m. on January 12 under Maj. Clarke, to march on the village of Ambi.[101] After this march Clarke halted until daybreak. At 5 a. m. on

January 13 he moved down upon the Pindaris in two directions (one under Capt. Keenedy and the other under Clarke) and completely surprised them when they (Pindaris) were preparing for their march. The left division cut in among them, and a party flying met the right division and suffered severely. The pursuit was continued for 20 miles and of the 1,600 Pindaris, 1,000 were said to have been killed. Maj. Clarke returned to camp, having covered 50-60 miles in 13 hours.[102]

At this moment Adams was at Gangraur, Donkin near Nahargarh and Anganer and Keir at Neemuch and Malcolm was deputed to establish co-ordination among them. At the same time Col. Deacon was directed to march from Jafarabad towards Ahmadnagar, and eventually to Poona.[103]

Hislop marching by way of Ujjain reached Mahidpur on January 20. On the way he detached Maj. Lushington to sweep round by Ratlam and return to camp by Nolai. Grant was to march from Mandesar by Banswara; and from thence leaving Ratlam on the right, join headquarters at Ujjain. The Gujarat battering train, for the contemplated seige of Asirgarh, was to join Hislop near the same place. Grant reached headquarters at Ujjain on January 29. Lushington rejoined the headquarters farther southward at Indore on February 5, the day on which Malcolm entered Neemuch.[104]

On 19 January, after conferring with Malcolm, Brown left his camp at Aora and reached Jawad. Here he found that Jaswant Rao Bhao had concealed the Pindaris in his camp, under the protection of his two officer, Bhao Singh and Ram Baksh. Malcolm demanded the surrender of these two officers. Earlier also the Bhao was reported to have offered assistance to the Pindaris through his officers.[105] Negotiations proceeded, but on 29 January Brown received a report that Bhao Singh and his party were saddling, preparatory to flight.[106] He had already informed Jaswant Rao Bhao that the movement of any part of his camp would be a signal for attack, and he now sent a squardon of cavalry to re-inforce the pickets and prevent the escape of the party. Their attempt for re-inforcement was also prevented. Bhao Singh's camp was ordered to be surrounded but his cavalry galloped off, being pursued by the cavalry of Capt. Ridge an the remainder was destroyed, and their guns, camp equippage and baggage taken.[107]

In the meantime Brown ordered Jaswant Rao Bhao to surrender, but his messenger was fired on, so he ordered an attack. Jaswant Rao escaped by the opposite gate towards Kamalner while the storming party entered by the Rampura gate and inflicted heavy casualties on the Bhao's camp.[108] Donkin hailed this action of Brown and Caulfield as an "extinguisher on the Pindaris protected by Jaswant Rao Bhao."[109]

On 3 February Brown marche towards Rampura, leaving a detachment at Jawad. Keir, meanwhile moved to Ratlam and thence to Badanwar on 3 February. He marched a few days later to the vicinity of the camp of Bhima Bai, the sister of Malhar Rao Holkar, who still maintained a hostile attitude (towards the British) at the head of portion of Holkar's army. The lady, however, surrendered,[110] and her troops to the tune of 2,500 dispersed to their homes. As a result of these operations the Pindaris had been expelled from the left bank of Chambal and were unable to assemble anywhere in numbers, for they were in such case at once pursued by the British troops. While in small parties they used to be attacked by villagers whom they had earlier plundered[111] with impunity.

Early in February, 1818 the Grand Army began to draw off towards the Jamuna proceeding eventually to Kanpur and Lucknow, leaving a small brigade under Col. Dewar to join Marshall. A number of crops were placed under Big. Gen. Watson, who was to reduce to submisson the ceded countries forth of the Narbada. The second division under Donkin was also broken up at the end of February.[112] The Governor-General re-crossed the Jamuna on 21 February in a little more than three months after he had taken the field.[113]

On 16 January, 1818 Col. Adams, in command of the fifth division of the Deccan Army, was at Gangraur. During Maj. Clarke's operations against the Pindaris another corps of Karim's and Wasil Muhammad's *durrahs* passed to the Southward, while a third crossed to the east, along the ghats of southern Malwa. Adams finding it unnecessary to remain near Chambal, marched towards the Narbada, on the 18th to Barod and the following day to Agar. He continued his march to Darajpur, south-east of Bhilsa, where he arrived on 28 January, and the two *durrahs* which he was following were reduced to submission by his raid movements, leaving only

Chitu with his *durrah,* on the upper part of the Narbada as an objective.[114] Chitu with 1,500 men descended the ghats at Kamod on 24 January and on the following day Maj. Heath commanding at Hindia, 20 miles away, received information of his position. Marching with 850 men of the Madras European Regiment he came upon the Chitu's party[115] at 8 p.m. at which they forthwith dispersed leaving a few dead men and their encampment with 2 elephants, 110 camels, and 130 horses.[116] The pursuit was ineffectual due to darkness. Chitu fled up the ghat and his adherents reassembled, but he was turned westward by a detachment, sent after him by Adams.

The theatre of operations at this stage shifted to the upper Narbada, where the country was pacified early in the year by the forces under Hardyman, and Col. Mac Morine. On 6 January Mac Morine had an engagement with a body of 2,000 Pindaris, who after a show of resistance fled away leaving their guns and baggages.[117] At the end of January Hardyman's force was also broken up.

The second division of the Deccan Army under Doveton, its presence being no longer required at Nagpur, marched on 22 January for Elchipur. On 2 February the division reached the neighbourhood of Elchipur, and detachments were then despatched to take over various ceded districts and places, including the forts of Gurigarh and Narbada on the southern slopes of the Satpura hills. The division thence proceeded by Argaon, Malkapur, Sanod and Lohara to Utran, arriving at the last named place on 20 February, 1818.[118] Thus, the operations that had begun from November, 1817 practically came to an end in the month of February, 1818 when the Grand Army and Deccan Army, both started withdrawing. From now onwards there were only stray engagements between the British forces and the Pindaris. This year (1818) saw the surrender of most of the Pindaris leaders. On the 17th February Roberts arrested at Keiri a petty Sardar named Lal Singh whose aid was considered valuable by the Pindaris. Lal Singh himself was not a Pindari but he was suspected to have the knowledge of the whereabouts of Chitu. Several other Mewati and Gond chiefs were captured on the suspicion of giving active assistance to Chitu and concealing the Pindaris in their villages.[119]

On the 20th February, after a march of 21 miles roberts' detachment arrived at a place called Kinnode which Roberts

immediately surrounded and succeeded in seizing 25 Pindaris who were lying there in concealment. Roberts then despatched Lt. Blair with a small force to a village, where Gulab Khan, the former *darwan* of Chitu was said to have been hidden. Blari succeeded in capturing this person with 33 horses.[120] On the 25th February Roberts arrived within 16 *coss* of Indore and learned that Chitu with about 120 of his followers, was concealed in the jungles between Airwas and Bagli. Several other Pindaris were likewise in the same jungle, but were separate from the chief and were in parties of four and five.[121] They were fed and concealed by the neighbourig Rassia (another plundering tribe) chiefs, whose leader was Kossal Singh. Roberts invited Kossal Singh to his camp but Kossal Singh, being alarmed at the arrival of troops from Raghugarh under Lt. Col. Stanhope, did not come.[122]

On 12 March Roberts returned to Bagli with a determination to expel Chitu from the Airwas jungles. At 2 a.m. on 13 March he marched with his force and about sunset he heard of Chitu's being in motion with 250 men.[123] Roberts at once followed him. In the night he received Chitu's *vakil* who conveyed Chitu's inclination to surrender. Roberts asked the *vakil* to bring Chitu to him and assured him that he need not have any apprehensions. He sent some of his men with the *vakil*. But Chitu's followers became alarmed and insisted on his flying way from there. Chitu accordingly fled away to Bhopal an could not be captured until his death.[124]

In the month of May British troops continued to move toward the haunts of the Pindaris who were plundering in the countries of degree and Bhopal districts.[125] Tod's infanty is reported to have on the 23rd May.[126] On the 8th June Adam's division arrived at Hoshangabad (just in time to avoid the rains which set in the following day) an thereby closed the campaign. In the opinion of Mc Naghten, the leading features of the war down to this period was the complete extermination of the Pindari power, and the extinction of the predatory system throughout India.[127] Col. Adams gave, as Lord Hastings expressed it, "the finishing blow to the Pindari existence.[128]

In the meantime Adams finding the Pindaris in utter misery and rout, had sent them a message (on 27 January, 1818) through the Nawab of Bhopal that if they surrendered with arms and horses, etc. their *sardars* could be provided for and settled at places away from

their haunt and their followes might be pardoned.[129] In response to this a number of the Pindari leaders finding themselves completely done up surrendered to the British Government. Namdar Khan was the first to surrender himself to Col. Adams on 3 February, 1818 at Deorajpur within Bhopal territory, the only condition of his surrender being that he should not be sent to Europe or Calcutta.[130] It is reported that Namdar Khan had been reduced to such wretched plight that two days previous to surrendering himself he had eaten nothing and was literally starving.[131] In Namdar's party (which surrendered on 13 February) were his father-in-law, Nizamuddin, his maternal uncles Morea and Lall Khan and 87 followers in addition to children, slaves and other camp followers.[132] Wasil Muhammad was also said to have been willing to surrender but he late fled to Gwalior where Daulat Rao Sindhia reluctantly delivered him to the Governor-General at the express requisition of the latter.[133]

When the war with Holkar broke out Karim Khan was compelled to leave Holkar's camp and he came to Jawad where he received the protection of Jaswant Rao Bhao.[134] When the English captured Jawad on January 20, Karim found asylum in the house of poor inhabitant. He remained there till the night of 30 January[135] when he escaped to the hills, and wandered for some days on foot in a mendicant's dress in equal danger of perishing from fatigue and hunger. Later on the advice of Ghafoor Khan (Pathan) he surrendered unconditionally to Malcolm on 15 February, 1818.[137] The fact of his wandering was confirmed by one of his feet being much swelled by walling (to him an unusual exercise) and by his exhausted look when he surroundered.[138] Other Pindaris of Karim's *durrah*, numbering 36, had surrendered earlier with 22 horses and tattoos and 18 spears. They all appeared to be in an entirely forlorn condition.[139] On 29 February, 1818 the principal chief of the Holkarshahi Pindaris, Kadir Baksh surrendered to Malcolm.[140] Another Pindari leader Rajan surrendered early in the month of April as a result of the operations of Malcolm.[141]

The only important leader who still remained at large, was Chitu. He had been reduced to a state of utter misery since his surprise by Heath earlier. In addition to this Stanhope's encounter[142] with him on 8 March put him completely out of gear.[143] Chitu, therefore, came to the resolution of coming to terms with the British

Government and for that purpose went to Bhopal.[144] He fell at the feet of the Nawab of Bhopal and expressed his determination to submit but wanted an assurance of employment at the head of 200 horse in the British army. The Nawab of Bhopal could not live that assurance but tried to capture him.[145] So Chitu fled towards Bagli being pursued by Roberts.[146] On haring of the British army at his heels, he went to Asirgarh and met Jaswant Rao Lar, the *Killadar* of Asirgarh. Chitu had heard that the British Government had pledged itself to treat the Pindari chiefs, who surrendered with mercy and generosity but he dared not take the risk of *Kala Pani* (transportation) in case the British did not keep to their pledge. He was so much afraid of *Kala Pani* that an agent of Malcolm, who was for some days with Chitu told him that "he (Chitu) raved continually about *Kala Pani* and that one of his followers assured him, when the Pindari chief slept, he used in his dreams to repeat the dreaded words aloud."[147] Hence, Chitu instead of accepting British offer, proceeded to the fortress of Asir. In the mantime he was declared a public enemy and the British Government announced a reward of Rs. 10,000 to anyone who would capture Chitu and threatened attack and destruction to anyone who would in any way help or protect him.[148]

At Asirgarh Chitu was invited by Appa Sahib,[149] the ex-Raja of Nagpur, who had escaped from confinement and was collecting adherents among Mahadeo hills. Appa Sahib even gave a written engagement promising, if ever he gained the government of Nagpur Chitu would be given a *jagir* of four lacs and to allow him the honours he had received from the Sindhia.[150] But Chitu had hardly reached that place (Mahadeo hills where Appa Sahib was staying) when an English detachment under Smith[151] forced his small body of followers to disperse. Chitu fled with his son (Panna) and only 5 adherents towards his former place of refuge, i.e. the jungles of Airwas. But he was now tracked, like a hunted animal, through the jungles by the prints of his horse's hoofs.[152] Driven by the increasing vigour of the pursuit from every wellknown haunt, forced by hunger to separate from his son and his last companions, Chitu attempted to penetrate into a thick cover known to have been infested with tigers.[153] He was missed for some days after which his horse was discovered grazing near the margin of the forest, saddled and bridled

and exactly in the state in which it was when Chitu had last been seen upon it. Upon search by a local officer of Holkar's government, a bag containing Rs. 250 was found in the saddle and several seal rings, with some letters from Appa Sahib, promising future reward, which served more completely to fix the identity of the horse's late master[154] (Chitu). A search was made for the body and at no great distance, some clothes, clotted with blood, and further on, fragments of bones and at last that Pindari's entire head,* with the features in a state to be recognised, were successfully discovered. His mangled remains were given to his son, Muhammad Panna for internment.[155]

After Chitu's death the Pindaris were practically annihilated. The Marquess of Hastings thus wrote to the Directors, "The mass of their (Pindaris) former followers has completely dispersed, the annihilation as a body of this once formidable association must be regarded as complete........" [156] The entire suppression of the Pindaris was effected within a very short period and as such the total amount spent on the six divisions of the Bengal troops came to about 34,34,874 (Sonaut) rupees while the expenses incurred on the Gurkha was amounted to above 51 lakhs.[157] Commenting on this the Governor-General remarked that "when the charge for the troops periodically and unavailingly moved forward from the Madras Presidency to cover the country south of the Narbada from the Pindari is considered, and the heavy loss of revenue from the devastations committed by those wretches is taken into account, it may be thought a thrifty expenditure, which at such a rate, once for all put an end to that annual tax upon our finances." [158]

So far as the Pindari problem was concerned Lord Hastings had always held that their mere suppression was not enough. In his opinion a permanent solution of that problem was to rid them of their Pindari habits. That was only possible if the Pindaris were provided with an alternative mode of life. Therefore, he worked out a plan for their settlement to take place after their suppression. But this cannot be said to be an entirely novel idea. A similar policy had been followed in the case of the free companies of Europe some 500 years before. They (free companies) had been gradually extirpated or incorporated with the regular armies, and compelled to change their mode of life.[159] Negotiations were entered into with their

leaders. Pensions and lands were assigned to them on the condition of relinquishing their disorderly habits.[160]

Hastings had therefore decided to uproot the Pindaris from their original haunts and scatter them here and there under the supervision of British forces, and to induce them to cultivate "arts of peace" so that they got mixed up with the masses. In his opinion a portion of their followers might be received into the armies of the Indian powers united with the British Government in the bonds of alliance.[161]

Therefore, the British Government laid down the following policy with regard to the settlement of such Pindri chiefs who might surrender themselves in course of the operations against them:[162]

(i) The decision about their settlement would rest on the pleasure of the British Government;

(ii) the Pindaris were not to be employed in the British army;

(iii) their settlement would be made on such principles as would preclude the hazard of their resuming their former habits;

(iv) some of the Pindaris might be settled in Malwas though not near their previous haunts, but majority to be settled at distant places under the supervision of the British authority;

(v) residence of chiets and principal leaders were to be restricted to a particular place without imposing any further restraint on their personal freedom; the leaders were to be settled far from each other, preferably in the British territories;

(vi) the body of Pindaris were to be separated from their leaders and not much attention was to be paid to them (as in the case of their leaders); they might also be allowed to mix with the mass of the population with which they might gradually assimilate when the means of pursuing their former predatory courses were cut off;[163] and

(vii) to devise suitable means of subsistence.

Captain Henley was appointed to work out the settlement of the Pindaris.[164] He fixed his headquarters at Raisein near Bhopal because the Nawab of Bhopal very actively associated himself with the British in the settlement of the Pindaris.[165] In answer to Adam's letter with regard to a vigilant observation to be exercised over the Pindaris, the Nawab promised to do his utmost in the matter.[166]

It was decided to grant lands to the various Pindari leaders and their followers for the purposes of residence and cultivation. They were not to be allotted hilly or jungle-covered and inaccessible lands. On the contrary, they were to be settled in waste tracts of land within British provinces so that they could remain under the direct supervision of the British authorities.[168] They were not allowed to settle in the districts west to the Jamuna, the provinces of Rohilkhand, Farukhabad, near their previous haunts. They were allowed to settle in populous cities but not in Banaras, because it contained people who were not well disposed towards the British Government.[169]

Lands were granted liberally by the Nawab of Bhopal for the settlement of the Pindaris.[170] Besides, the Collector of Gorakhpur was directed to purchase lands for the settlement of the Pindari chiefs. Accordingly, the Collector purchased at public auction, the *Zamindari* of Raja Fateh Bhadur Chand in Pargana Dooreah Par.[172] A number of estates were bought for the settlement of the various chiefs. Besides granting lands to the various chiefs, payments were also made to them for the purchas of cattle, agricultural implements and seed on the following scale:[173]

(i)	to each Pindari horseman receiving 25 bighas of land	Rs. 50
(ii)	to each Jemadar, Muhaladar or Toradar receiving bighas of land	Rs. 125
(iii)	to each Jemadar, Muhalladar or Toradar receiving 70 bighas of land	Rs. 200
(iv)	to each influencial Pindari	Rs. 300

The monthly stipend for each Pindari horseman was fixed at Bhopal rupees* four.[174] While fixing the rates of allowances of the

Pindaris the number of their family members an the existing rices of the necessaries of life were taken into account.[175] An allowance was also given to the family members of such Pindaris who were devoured by tigers. A small allowance of Rs. 6 was paid to each village (allotted to the Pindaris) to meet the expenses in performance of religious ceremonies in its re-occupation.[176] With regard to the stipends for the slaves and servants of the petty chiefs it was decided to the superior classes.[177] These allowances were to continue until they had reaped the first *kharif* crops after which they were expected to be self-supporting. Lands were granted free of rent for the first two years in order to enable them to settle comfortably.[178]

A large numbei of the Pindaris was settled in Bhopal.[179] (see Appendix—C). The British Government had to incur heavy expenses over the maintenance of the Pindaris before they could become self-supporting. The expenses incurred over Karim's *durrah* alone during the period between April 1 and December 31, 1918 amounted to Bhopal rupees 53, 149.[180]

With regard to the settlement of the various leaders we may taken up the case of Namdar Khan who was the first to surrender to the British Government. In view of this, he was shown special consideration and was allowed to remain in Malwa under the direct superintendence of the Nawab of Bhopal.[181] Namdar Khan was granted an annual stipend of 8,125 Bhopal rupees for his support and that of his family members. The amount was to be paid to him in quarterly installments.[182] In addition to this, about 150 of his dependents were also settled in Bhopal as subjects of the Nawab.[183] Namdar Khan's brother Shujahat Khan, a young man of seventeen, who was never associated with any predatory excursion, was granted a sum of Rs. 2000 per annum.[184] His other brother, Baksh Khan who did not surrender until 1819, when allowed to settle with Namdar Khan in Bhopal was allotted six villages for cultivation. A sum of Rs. 150 per month was granted to him for a short-time in order to enable him to take up the work of cultivation.[185]

Karim Khan was settled in Gorakhpur.[186] He had earlier pressed to remain in Malwa as was done in the case of his nephew Namdar Khan. Karim Khan did not feel gratified at the liberal treatment of the British Government towards Namdar Khan.

However, through the agency of one Meer Jafar Ali Khan he was induced to agree to remain at Gorakhpur. He was given an allowance of Rs. 1,000 per month until he was settled at Gorakhpur and given landed property worth Rs. 16,000.[187] At Gorakhpur the estate of Burruapur was purchased for him for Rs. 12,000 out of Rs. 16,000 allotted to him.[188] The remaining sum of Rs. 4,000 was to be paid to him in cash every year until land worth that amount was given to him.[189] Karim Khan prayed for separate property for his sons and other dependents.[190] He further requested the British Government for additional pecuniary assistance in order to enable him to build a house in his estate.[191] These extravagant claims were not entertained, and he was told that the allowance of Rs. 16,000 per year was meant for supporting his whole family and their immediate dependents.[192]

Karim's party which was settled at Gorakhpur consisted of his wife Lalki Begam,[193] two sons—Shamat Khan and Shamsher Bahadur, their wives, dependents, followers, slaves and servants. The total number of the members of his party was 590.[194] Lalki Begam was a refined lady and possessed considerable influence over Karim Khan. She did not like to go back to Karim Khan because the thought that nothing would ever pursuade him to believe that she had been treated in the honourable way in which she had been.[196] So, she feared that he would not accept her and might put her to death.[197] Therefore, she implored the protection of the British Government.[198] Later she decided to go when Karim Khan requested the British Government to allow his wife to join him.[199]

Kadir Baksh, the principal chief of Holkarshahi Pindaris, was also settled in Gorakhpur.[200] He was granted the estate of Ganeshpur as an equivalent for his full stipend of Rs. 4,000.[201] He had been brought to Gorakhpur along with Karim.[202] His party consisted of 120 members including his wife, 2 sons named Zahuruddin, Miran Baksh, Juggan, Muttu, Khushal Koer and Reza Koer, 3 daughters, 2 nephews, a son-in-law, slaves and servants.[203]

Rajan Khan after his surrender implored the British Government to be settled in Malwa. With tears in his eyes he is said to have requested Malcolm to be left in Malwa with "any small amount of allowance."[204] His appeal was not granted and he was ordered to proceed to Gorakhpur.[205] However, in view of his sober character and subordinate rank in the *durrah* he was permitted to

remain at Kotah for five or six months in order to collect his family members, at a pension of Rs. 200 per month.[206] Later his pension was commuted (in 1826) to an assignment of land in Shujawalpur (Gwalior) for has life. The grant consisted of a jagir of there villages, namely, Piplianagar, Khajuri and Jabria-Bhil [207]

Another important leader, Wasil Muhammad, the brother of Dost uhammad (who had died earlier in 1815) after his surrender was sent to Ghazipur[208] where he arrived on 7 July, 1818 and expressed satisfaction at the arrangements made for him.[209] However, in the heart of his hearts, he continued to be restless and tried to escape but was detected in this attempt.[210] So he committed suicide by taking arsenic at about 11 p. m. on 7 October, 1818.[211] After Wasil Muhammad's death, his widow received land from the Sindhai in Bhilsa district and settled there.

After Chitu's death (in 1819) his son Muhammad Panna was shown to the people in order to convince them of Chitu's fate.[213] Owing congenital deafness and weak intellect[214] he was deemed an object of pity rather than punishment and very liberal treatment was meted out to him.[215] He was released and transferred to the government of Holkar from whom he received a rew fields for subsistence.[216]

As a result of these measures, the Pindaris as a class became extinct and got mixed up with the general masses of the people. Within five years after the military operation against them even their names were forgotten.[217] According to Malcolm some individual chiefs, pensioners of the British Government, and a few poor inhabitants of villages in Bhopal and Nemawar "are all who now own the name of this late formidable community"[218] (Pindaris).

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5. Secret letter to court dated 4 December, 1817, para 12; Hastings to Hislop, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 17 dated 28 October, 1817.
6. Secret letter to court dated 4 December, 1817, para 12.

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8. Secret letter to court dated 4 December, 1817, para 12
9. *Private Journal of the Marquess of Hastings*, Vol. 2, p. 213.
10. Secret letter to court dated 4 December, 1817, para 12.
11. Letter from Marquess of Hastings to the court of Directors dated 6 May, 1823, cited in *Report of the Select Committee*, Vol, 8. Appendix No. 2, p. 98; Marquess of Hastings, *Summary of Administration*, op. cit., p. 32.
12. Extract from the Governor-General's letter to the Secret Committee dated 1 October, 1817, cited in *Evidence before the Select Committee*, p. 237.
13. Secret letter to court dated 4 December, 1817, para 7; Letters from Marquess of Hastings to the court of Directors dated 6 May, 1803, cited in the *Report of the Select Committee*, Vol. 8. p. 98.
14. Ibid.
15. Political letter to court dated 19 May, 1818, para 4; Arquess of Hastings *Summary of Administration*, op. cit., p. 33.
16. Marquess of Hastings, *Summary of Administration*, op. cit., p. 34.
17. Marquess of Hastings to Hislop, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 28 dated 28 October, 1817.
18. Secret letter from court dated 26 September, 1816, para 20.
19. Secret letter to court dated 4 December, 1917, para 12.
20. Hastings to Hislop, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 28 dated 28 October, 1817.
21. Minute of Edmonstone dated 31 March, 1814, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 1 dated 21 June, 1814, para 20.
22. Adam to Malcolm, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 11 dated 1 May, 1818.
23. *Burton*, op. cit., p. 15.
24. Hastings to Hislop, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 17 dated 28 October, 1817.
25. Blacker to Adams, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 62 dated 19 December, 1817.

* For details regarding the distribution of the two armies please see *Appendix-B*.

26. Buron, op. cit., p. 15.
27. Thornton, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 442; Burton, op. cit., p. 21
28. Thornton, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 443.

29. Nicol to Marshal, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 24 dated 28 October, 1817; Nicol to Adams, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 29 dated 28 October, 1817.
30. Nicol to Adams, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 14 dated 14 November, 1817.
31. Secret letter to court dated 1 March, 1820, para 4.
32. Thornton, op. cit., Vol. 4 p. 443; Nicol to Ochterlony, Foeign Secret Consultation No. 18 dated 14 November, 1817.
33. Jenkins to Toone, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 66 dated 19 December, 1817; Burton, op. cit., p. 21.
34. Nicol to Adam, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 17 dated 10 October, 1817.
35. Thornton, op. cit., pp. 443-44.
36. Jenkins to Adams, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 52 dated 14 November, 1817.
37. Burton, op. cit., p. 21.
38. Ibid.
39. Thornton, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 444.
40. Secret letter to court dated 1 March, 1820, para 7.
41. Mc Naghten, op. cit., p. 119.
42. Thornton, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 444.
43. Ibid.
44. Secret letter to court dated 1 March, 1820 paras 9-10.
45. Burton, op. cit., p. 20.
46. Ibid., op. cit., p. 11.
47. Blacker, op. cit., p. 19.
48. Hastings to Hislop, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 28 dated 28 October, 1817.
49. Burton, op. cit., p. 39.
50. Marshall to Nicol, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 54 dated 19 December, 1817.
51. Hardyman to Nicol, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 12 dated 12 December, 1817.
52. Secret letter to court dated 1 March, 1820.
53. Burton, op. cit., p. 40.

54. Hastings to Hislop, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 69 dated 19 Decembr, 1817.
55. Burton, op. cit., p. 40.
56. Secret letter to court dated 1 March, 1820.
57. Adams to Hislop, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 73 dated 19 December, 1817.
58. Burton, op. cit., p. 41.
59. Ibid.
60. Secret letter to court dated 1 March, 1820, para 58.
61. Hastings to Hislop, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 2 dated 12 December, 1817.
62. Hastings to Hislop, foreign Secret Consultation No. 3 dated 19 December, 1817.
63. Burton, op. cit., p. 41.
64. Nicol to Adam, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 59 dated 19 December, 1817.
65. Burton, op. cit., p. 41.
66. Marshall to Nicol, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 60 dated 19 December, 1817.
67. Burton, op. cit., p. 41.
68. Ibid.
69. Ibid., p. 42.
70. Nicol to Adam, Foreign Secret Consultation No.34 dated 26 December, 1817.
71. Nicol to Adam, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 34 dated 26 December, 1817.
72. Burton, op. cit., p. 42.
73. Ibid.
74. Ibid.
75. Ibid.
76. *Private Journal of the Marquess of Hastings*, Vol. 2, p. 238.
77. Ibid., pp. 236-44.
78. Burton, op. cit., p. 43.
79. Ibid.
80. Ibid.

81. Ibid.
82. Ibid.
83. Ibid.
84. Ibid..
85. Ibid.
86. *Calcutta Monthly Journal*, Vol. 32, p. 26; *Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register*, 1818, Vol. 6, p. 77.
87. Donkin to Hastings dated 18 December, 1818, *Donkin Papers*, Book I, p. 245, preserved in the Bihar Research Society, Patna; *Calcutta Monthly Journal*, 1818, vol. 6. p. 77; Deveton to Hastings, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 95 dated 16 January, 1818.
88. Burton, op. cit., p. 45; Adams to Adam, Foeign Secret Consultation No. 38 dated 30 January, 1818; McNaghten, op. cit., p. 142.
89. Burton, op. cit., p. 45.
90. Ibid., p. 61.
91. Mc Naghtenh, op. cit., pp. 140-41.
92. Ibid..
93. Ibid., p. 62.
94. Blacker to Adams, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 50 dated 30 January, 1818.
95. Burton, op. cit., p. 62.
96. Ibid.
97. Burton, op. cit., p. 63.
98. Ibid.
99. Keir to Blacker dated 20 January, 1818, Papers respecting the Pindary and Mahratta wars, op. cit., pp. 249-50; Burton, op. cit., p. 63.
100. Secret letter to court dated 10 February, 1818, cited in *Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register*, 1818, Vol. 6, p. 196.
101. Burton, op. cit., pp. 63-64.
102. Mc Naghten, op. cit., pp. 155-56; Burton, op. cit., p. 64; General Order by the Commander-in-Chief dated 20 January, 1818 *Calcutta Monthly Journal*, 1818, Vol. 32, p. 154.
103. Burton, op. cit., p. 64.
104. Ibid.
105. Caulfield to Adam, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 30 dated 13 February, 1818.

106. Burton, op. cit., p. 65.
107. Ibid.
108. Ibid.
109. Donkin to Brown dated 28 January, 1818, *Donkin papers*, Book No. 2, op. cit., p. 101.
110. Hislop to the Governor-General, Despatch No. 69 dated 23 February, 1818, Foreign Secret Consultation Nos. 58-62 dated 17 April, 1818.
111. Burton, op. cit., p. 65.
112. Ibid., p. 66.
113. Secret letter to court dated 1 March, 1820, para 89.
114. Ibid.
115. Hislop to Governor-General, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 46 dated 17 April, 1818.
116. Heath to Adjutant General, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 47 dated 17 April, 1818; Heath to the Adjutant General dated 27 January, 1818, Papers respecting Pindarry and Mahratta wars, op. cit., *Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register*, 1818, Vol. 6. p. 406.
117. Burton, op. cit., p. 66.
118. Ibid., p. 67.
119. McNaghten, op. cit., pp. 167-68.
120. Ibid., pp. 168-69.
121. Ibid., p. 169.
122. Ibid., p. 172.
123. Roberts to Adam, cited in Mc Naghten, op. cit., pp. 175-78.
124. Ibid.
125. Blacker, op. cit., p. 216.
126. Nicol to Adam, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 46 dated 6 February, 1818.
127. Mc Naghten, op. cit., p. 216.
128. Ibid.
129. Prinsep, op. cit. Vol. 2, p. 149; Translation of the Nawab of Bhopal's letter addressed to Namdar Khan, Wasil Muhammad and other Pindari chiefs dated 27 January, 1818, cited in Foreign Secret Consultation No. 70 dated 13 March, 1818.
130. Prinsep, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 149.

131. Asiatic Mirror dated 23 February, 1818, cited in *Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register,* 1818, Vol. 6, p. 210.

132. Adams to Adam, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 71 dated 13 March, 1818 (36); Adams to Adam, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 35 dated 6 March, 1818; Bislop to Hastings, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 49 dated 17 April, 1818.

133. Prinsep, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 149; Malcolm, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 439.

134. Malcolm to Hislop, cited in *Asiaic Journal and Monthly Register,* 1818, Vol. 6, p. 408.

135. Malcolm to Hislop, cited in *Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register* 1818, Vol. 5, p. 408.

136. Malcolm, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 460.

137. Malcolm to Hislop Papers respecting Pindarry and Mahratta Wars, op. cit., p. 253; Adam to Lushington, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 15 dated 13 March, 1818.

138. Malcolm to Hislop, cited in *Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register,* 1818, Vol. 5, p. 408.

139. Adams to Adam, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 72 dated 13 March, 1818.

140. Malcolm to Adam, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 346 dated 23 July, 1818.

141. Malcolm to the Governor-General, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 28 dated 29 May, 1818.

142. Bombay Gazette dated 8 March, 1818, cited in *Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register,* 1818, Vol. 6, p. 303; Adjutan General to Adam, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 28 dated 17 April, 1818.

143. Stanhope to Keir dated 9 March, 1818, cited in *Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register,* 1818, Vol. 5, p. 413.

144. Statement of Panna, son of Chitu, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 70 dated 8 April, 1818.

145. Henley to Adam, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 25 dated 1 May, 1818.

146. Henely to Malcolm, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 767 dated 24 July, 1818.

147. Malcolm, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 446.

148. Malcolm to Adam, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 61 dated 13 March, 1819.

149. Statement of Panna, son of Chitu, op. cit.; resident at Indore to Adam, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 7 dated 13 March, 1819.

150. Ibid.

151. Blacker, op. cit., p. 433.

152. Malcolm, op. cit. Vol. 1, p. 447.

153. Prinsep, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 152.

154. Ibid., pp. 152-53; Malcolm, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 448.

155. Prinsep, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 153.

156. Political letter to court dated 25 November, 1818, para 23.

157. Marquess of Hastings, *Summary of the Administration,* op. cit., Appendix A, p. 117.

* His head was discovered in a tiger's den and presented to Malcolm, by Nana, a Brahmin Zamindar of Kantapur, the district in which Chitu was reported to have been killed by a tiger.

158. Letter from the Marquess of Hastings to the court of Directors, cited in the Report of the Select Committee, 1832, Appendix No. 2, p. 98.

159. Walker to Jones, Evidence before the Select Committee, p. 330.

160. Ibid.

162. Hastings to Hislop, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 28 dated 28 October, 1817, para 53.

163. Adam to Malcolm, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 9 dated 6 February, 1818; Adam to Adams, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 77 dated 13 March, 1818.

164. Adams to Adam, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 21 dated 3 April, 1818.

165. Ibid.

166. Ibid.

167. Henley to Adam, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 20 dated 1 May, 1818 para 5.

168. Adam to Malcolm, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 9 dated 6 February, 1818.

169. Adam to Adams, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 77 dated 13 March, 1818.

170. Henley to Adam, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 20 dated 1 May, 1818, para 8.

171. Adam to the Board of Commissions, Farukhabad, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 33 dated 10 July, 1818.

172. From Gorakhpru (signature illegible) to Adam, Forign Secret Consultation No. 33 dated 10 July, 1818.
173. Henely to Adam, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 20 dated 1 May, 1818, para 8.
174. Ibid., para 9.
175. Ibid., Adam to Adams, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 77 dated 13 March, 1818.

* A Bhopal rupees is about 10% inferior to a Sonanut rupee 12.

176. Henley to Adam, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 89 dated 29 August, 1818.
177. Henley to Adam, Foreign Secet Consultation No. 20 dated 1 May, 1818, para 9.
178. Ibid., para 12; From Fort William (unsigned) to Henley, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 106 dated 26 December, 1818.
179. Henley to Adam, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 20 dated 1 May, 1818.
180. Ibid.

5 Koowers and other principal Jemadars received subsistence at Rs. 20 a month and allowance of Rs. 300 for cattle, etc. equal to stocking 100 bighas of land.	Rs. 2,400
16 Koowers, Jemadars, Muhalladars and Toradars of the superior classes received subsistence at Rs. 16 a month and allowance of Rs. 200 for cattle, etc. equal o stocking 70 bighas to land.	Rs. 5,504
45 Jemadars, Muhalladars and Toradars of the inferior class received ubsistance at Rs. 18 a month and allowance of Rs. 125 for cattle equal to stocking 50 bighas of land.	Rs. 8,865
400 Pindari horsemen received subsistence at Rs. 4 a month and allowance of Rs. 50 for cattle equal to stocking 25 bighas of land.	Rs. 34,400
	1,980
Total Bhopal	Rs. 53,149

181. Malcolm to Adam, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 367 dated 24 July, 1818; Adam to Adams, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 77 dated 13 March, 1818; Political letter to court dated 25 November, 1818, para 21; Adam to Malcolm, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 2 dated 29 May, 1818.

182. Henley to Adam, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 61 dated 29 May, 1918; *Evidence before Select Committee,* op cit., Appendix No. 29, p. 495. The quarterly instalent swere as follows:

In the month of February each year	Rs. 2,125
In the month of May each year	Rs.2,000
In the month of August each year	Rs. 2,000
In the month of November each year	Rs. 2,000
Total	Rs. 8,125

183. Henley to Adm, Forign Secret Consultation No. 61 dated 29 May, 1818.
184. Ibid.
185. Henley to Metcalfe, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 59 dated 31 July, 1819; Foreign Secret Consultation No. 108 dated 8 January, 1820; James to Henley, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 110 dated 8 January, 1820.
186. Political letter to court dated 25 November, 1818, para 23.
187. Malcolm to Adam, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 367 dated 24 July, 1818.
188. O. C. No. 28 dated 11 December, 1818, Proceeding Volume (Revenue), 1818, preserved in the West Bengal Record Room.
189. O. C. No. 32 dated 11 December. 1818 Proceeding Volume (Revenue), 1818, op. cit.
190. Stoneham to Adam, Foreign Political Consultation No. 46 dated 10 July, 1818.
191. O. C. No. 69 dated 24 December, 1818, Proceeding Volume (Revenue), 1818, op. cit.
192. Stoneham to Adam, Foreign Political Consultation No. 46 dated 10 July, 1818.
193. Gardner to Adam, Foreign Political Consultation No. 9 dated 8 May, 1818.
194. Malcolm to Adam, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 368 dated 24 July, 1818.
195. Gardner to Donkin Papers, Book No. 2, op. cit., p. 92.
196. Donkin to Adam, Ibid., p. 3.
197. Jha, Suppression of the Pindaris, *Journal of Bihar Research Society,* Vol. XLIII, p. 268 ft.
198. Donkin to Adam, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 100 dated 6 February, 1818.

199. Donkin to Adam, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 919 dated 24 July, 1818.
200. Malcolm to Adam, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 367 dated 24 July, 1818.
201. Rickettes to Adam, Foreign Political Consultation No. 68 dated 24 July, 1818; O. C. No. 28 dated 11 December, 1818, Proceeding Volume (Revenue), 1818, West Bengal State Record Room.
202. Adm to Malcolm, Foreign Political Consultation No. 28 dated 1 May, 1818.
203. Malcolm to Adam, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 369 dated 24 July, 1818.
204. Stoneham to Adam, Foreign Political Consultation No. 45 dated 10 July, 1818.
205. Malcoim to Adam, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 391 dated 24 July, 1818.
206. Stonehum o Metcalfe, Foreign Political Consultation No. 208 dated 6 March, 1819.
207. Adam to Malcolm, Foeign Secet Consultation No. 2 dated 29 May, 1818; Malcolm to Adam, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 391 dated 24 July, 1818.
208. Aitchison, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 330.
209. Bird to Adam, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 148 dated 14 August, 1818.
210. Prinsep, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 150; Malcolm, op. cit., Vol. , p. 40.
211. Magistrate of Ghazipur to Adam, Foreign Political Consultation No. 54 dated 7 November, 1818.
212. Henley to Metcalfe, Foreign Political Consultation No. 108 dated 8 January, 1820.
213. Malcolm to Metcalfe, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 70 dated 8 January, 1819.
214. Malcolm, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 448.
215. Malcolm to Metcalfe, Foreign Secret Consultation No. 27 dated 17 April, 1819.
216. Malcolm, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 449.
217. Ibid., p. 462.
218. Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 176.

11

Maratha Rule in Malwa

Origin of Saranjami System

Shivaji was the organiser of a strong monarchy did not favour heriditary ownership over territories.[1]

हरयेक कार्य प्रयोजनामुले भूमि इनाम देणे हा परम अन्नाय रोज भूमिपति येसे भूमि करना म्हणाचे भूमि गेलियावरी राज्य कशाचे करगार।

he was the military leader as well as administrative head. He had a direct control over the affairs of State from 18th century the direct control over the affairs of State from 18th century the direct rule was given up. The Raja divided his powers and patrimony among his ministers and commanders:

(1) They were expected to raise forces and maintain them.

(2) Secondly, they were to manage territories conquered so far and were to make fresh conquests.

(3) They were allowed to retain a small share of revenue in return. For all this the assignments made to the persons for such purpose were termed as 'Saranjams' and the person receiving it was called 'Saranjamdar'. The Saranjami territory was called 'Daulat'. The Maratha rule in Malwa was established through this system.

Meaning of the Term

The term 'Saranjam' is of Persian origin. It means materials or whatever is essential for any undertaking.[2a]

viz.—

डेरियाचे सामान व कोरे कागद व मेण कापड व सरकारचे उटास चरान्ने टोने येणे प्रमाणे संरजाम करुन सिताबीने पाठविणे ।

In Maratha State it also acquired a different meaning, expressing a land tenure or a temporary assignment of revenue from village or lands to support the troops for personal military service.

सनद की तुम्हांस फौजेच्या सरजामास साल मजकूर पासून पेशजीचे अमलदार दूर करुन सवल केली असे।

It sometimes was a applied to grants made to maintain personal dignity. They could be religious grants or grants to civil servants also.

Saranjamshahi in Maharashtra and its development

In Maharashtra in the times of Chhatrapati Rajaram the circumstances compelled him o start this feudatory system, during the war of Independence of the Marathas against the Mughals. For a small revenue share the king gave away large tracts of land conquered by the commanders in Jagir or Saranjam. Ramchandra Pant Amatya advised Rajaram—[3]

स्वामीने आपला मजमूचा हुदा जीर्णोद्धार करुन आपणास सांगितला परंतु हुदा म्हणजे बारगीर वस्तु आहे या करिता स्वामीनी आपली पहिली वतेने व इनामती व नूतन ही इनामती वतने में अजरामहायत करुन शपरंपरेस चालेत ऐसी आज्ञा केली पहिजे।

Sometimes the world is used merely for force.[4] viz.,

वरकड सरंजामास जागा दाखोन ठेविले, सरंजामा निशी जिकडे सांगाल तिकडे आनुकुल अहोत, रामदिन है सरंजामतोफा दोन पायदल स्वार घेअन आलोट गडगुच्यासा आले।

V. G Dighe finds no difference in the Jagirdari system of the Muslims and the Saranjami of the Marathas[5] but the main difference in this system from the Jagirdari system was:

(1) Initially the assignments (Saranjams) were made for short period[6] and subordinate position of the Saranjamadar was clarified. That was not so in Muslim rule.

(2) There are number of letters when Saranjam was granted to persons temporarily. Peshwas adherents got Sanads renewed every year. They in return could give it to their subordinates. The Saranajams were changed and confiscated. In Muslim period the Iqtadar (Chief holder) was expected to help the ruler with his troops at the time of war when called for. Here the "Saranjamadar' with the responsibility of the above mentioned work was expected to make new conquests also. With the passing of the time the systems became permanent in Maratha administration and even non military personal also used to have there land tracts.[7]

The Nature of the System and its Development

In Shahu's times his Peshwa Balaji Vishwanath to win over the great Maratha Captains Porsoji Bhosle, Khandoji Dabhade, Dhanaji Jadhav and Kanhoji Angre allowed them in the name of Sahu to hold the territories they conquered on the condition that they recognized Shahu as their Sovereign and serve him with forces and nominal contributions to the royal treasury. Shahu personally considered himself a jagirdar under the Mughal emperor. He confirmed the old Watans, Inams and Saranjams to be continued after he became the king. Thus it became a permanent feature of Maratha empire. The Peshwas also accepted it. Bajirao I when he was conferred with the title of Peshwa claimed the superiority over the other ministers of Shahu and sometimes siezed the parts of their Jagirs. Thus Peshwa became a *de facto* ruler.

He adopted a policy of expansion and the 'Mulukhagiri' was started. He enlarged his resources and made conquests in North India and Gujarat and assigned the conquests to military captains Pawars, Shinde, Holkar in Malwa and Gaikward in Gujarat and Patwardhan in the South. The army raised was loyal to him and the provinces the acquired were managed by his agents. Thus he become the biggest Jagirdar of Maratha State. Here the peculiar thing to be noted was that he claimed Subedarship of Malwa for himself and the Saranjamidari Sanads were given by him and in his name with approval of the 'Chhatrapati' to Ranoji, Malharrao Anandrao Tukoji

or Jiwaji, Even when a change was to be made on the 'Gaddi' it was the Peshwa who would issue "Khillat'. Mahadji or Mallerao Holkar, Tukoji rao Holkar received such appointment letters from the Peshwa and not from 'Chhatrapati' hence they owed their allegiance to the Peshwa. It is proved from the following statement. Also before her death Ahilyabai expressed her feelings before Santaji Bava Holkar in the words—.

ही दौलत पेशव्यांची आहे त्याणी कपाकरुन चाकरी घेतली तर चाकारी करुन दारववीन नाही तर हे इतकी ही दौलत त्याच्या घरात धालीन again she said — आपल्या पदरची माणसे यांचे चालत आल्या प्रमाणे धर्म कत्यात न्यून पडु न देता श्रीमंताचे चरणांसी लक्ष ढेवून यथासांग सेवा घडोन दौलतीये कल्याण होणे विषयी कमी न पडो।[8]

The Saranjam of Marathas were of two types (one) those for which the king granted Sanads and the (2) others like that of Shinde Holkar, Pawars or Gaikwads of which the Sanads were granted by Peshwa. Here we may differ with S.N. Sen the celebrated writer of the work on Maratha administration. He observes that in some cases the Peshwa had the prerogative of appointing the chief official.[9] The Diwans of Holkar Shinde and Gaikwads were appointed by Peshwa Ramchandra Bava Shevi for Ranoji Shinde or Naro Shankar, Baji Bhivrao retrekar at Indore,[10] whereas the Bhosles of Nagpur were called 'Senasahebseba' and Supekar Pawars 'Vishwasrao' (the title granted to them by Rajaram) claimed the right of managing their Saranjams without any interference.[11] Here we can clarify the things in this way:

(1) Saranjam granted by Chhatrapati were different than.

(2) Saranjams granted by Peshwa by the approval of Shahu out of his conquests of Gujarat Malwa and Bundelkhand.

He made his arrangements for the consolidation of his conquests by appointing his captains a Saranjamdars we can note the change that though he was an officer under the Chhatrapati still all the treaties signed in his northern conquests were signed by the Peshwa himself. Naturally or the northern conquest Chhatrapati never issued direct orders either to Shinde, Holkar or the Pawars of Dhar and Dewas. Their correspondence was made with and from Poona. The Saranjamdars could in return give Saranjams to their

subordinates and they in return give Saranjams to their subordinates and they in return could give it as Jagir to their favourites or servants.[12] Another noteworthy point was that the Saranjamadars appointed by Shahu generally did not assist Peshwa in Malwa or Gujarat or in the North. Even the Commander-in-Chief to the Army Dabhade was his opponent in Gujarat. Shahu never ordered his other Saranjamdars to assist him i.e. Pratinidhi, Amatya, Mantri or Senapati. All these points clarify the view that Peshwas conquest in Gujarat, Malwa, Rajasthan ad Bundelkhand were his personal victories though in the name of State. This is why in the battle of Panipat also we do not find a Bhosle of Nagpur or Ghorpade, Angre or Pratinidhi or any other Saranjamdar of Chhatrapati taking part. They were either Shinde, Pawars of Malwa, Holkar or Peshwa's own assistants. In other words the Peshwa created his own Saranjamdars' to consolidate his victories. The Chhatrapati approved of his policies hesitatingly. It was his ardent desire that गुजरात व मालवा साधेल तितुकासाधावा and as a 'Peshwa' of the 'Chhatrapati' Bajirao I took it as a personal responsibility of fulfilling the dream and expanded the State. Naturally he had full control over his creation. After the death of Shahu in 1749 the position of the Peshwa became supreme in 1750 A. D. Number of agreements were made by Peshwa with his feudatories.

(1) Saranjams were granted to military chiefs civil officers and for maintenance of force and Deosthans.

(2) Shinde, Holkar, Gaikwads and Patwardhans or Pawars were allowed to administer their jagirs and collect revenue on the condition of military services when required. The territories given for the purpose were called 'Daulat'.

(3) A nazar (gift) was paid by the chief of his confirmation of the 'Saranjam'

सरकारांतून पुत्रत्व करार करुन सरंजाम पेशजी प्रमाणे करार करुन सबब एक साला जनर रुपये १ लक्ष १ रूपया नजर के ली असे।[14]

Three conditions were exacted:

(1) A Sanad by the Sarkar or agreement conferring the Saranjam was to be given.

(2) The number of troops with which the military service was to be rendered. No hostile or offensive engagement was to be made with the neighbouring power by the Saranjamdar.[13]

(3) The 'Sarkar' was the arbitrator in case of dispute over Saranjam property.[16]

(4) The succession to the 'Saranjam was decided by the 'Sarkars' consent and approval.[17]

(5) Saranjamdar could not mix the Dumala grants with the Saranjam.

(6) Civil and judicial administration was looked after by him and there was no direct interference from the government so long as he paid the dues.

(7) Saranjamdar could appoint his own Saranjamdars. Holkar appointed Buley (Vithaji) Wagh, Makaji Dhamdhere as his own Saranjamdars. The Saranjams were confiscated after the death of previous ruler shut after they were granted to a person then also.

(8) These Saranjams could be confiscated as Bajirao II ordered or Holkar and Shinde looking to their quarrels.[18]

Tone called it a military republic. It was not a monarchy, aristocracy or democracy but still a solider with ability could become a Sardar irrespective of his social or financial status. Malharrao Holkar and Ranoji Shinde were the best example to support our view.

The Saranjamshahi in Malwa and the Formation of Maratha Principalities:

Bajirao I and the Saranjamdars

The success of Marathas in the early decades of 18th century marked a change in the history of Malwa. With the advent of Marathas the old order and Mughal rule came to an end. The establishment and consolidation of Maratha rule in Malwa was made possible through Saranjami system and in following stages. Captains like Udaji, Malharrao Holkar Ranoji, Shinde and Tukoji Anandrao Pawar helped Peshwa in the process.

(1) The early in raids from 1690-1721 A. D. affected the financial sources of Malwa and Mughal rule got a shake.

(2) The second stage from 1722-1728. A. D, gave them a firm footing. In 1722 Udaji Pawar got 1/3 of the share of the Mokasa as Saranjam from Peshwa's share of Dhar and Zhabua. In 1724-25 when Marathas attacked Gujarat and collected Chauth. Under Purandhare, Peshwa appointed Maratha officers to collect Chauth. Chimaji and Bajirao got the Pargana Kampel and Indore for the maintenance of their Paga.[19] When Purandhare left for Rajasthan and Bajirao was busy in Gujarat he authorised Udaji alone to collect Chauth and Sardeshmukhi in Malwa and granted 11 Mahals to Malharrao on 6th August 1727. in the name of Rajmandal Pune Durbar, The Saranjam expenses were to be met from the revenue of 4 districts in Gujarat and 6 in Malwa. They were Arniya, Punija, Piplod Deole, Khachrod and Jawara.[20] The curious fact is that even at this sage the Saranjamdar Malharro could appointed Vithaji Buley as Saranjam Jagirdar for Jhabua and Petlawad in 1727. S D. when he got it as his share. Battle of Amzera was the most important of the series of wars fought to get hold of Malwa. It established the Maratha Supremacy in Malwa.

(3) 1728 to 1732. A. D. was another stage. After Amzera Udaji Pawar claimed an equal position with the Peshwa Bajirao.[21] He had 77 villages under him but his ambitions grew big and he started conspiring against Bajirao[22] and joined hands with his opponents Dabhade, Nizam, Bande but the alliance was broken as Dabhade was defeated and killed at Dabhoi. This gave a set back to his position in Malwa. His relatives Tukoji and Anandrao Pawar who assisted Peshwa's since the days of Balaji Vishwanath to Delhi and were already working in Malwa[23] were invited by Ranoji and Malharji and were recommended by Chimaji Appa also.[24] They had Saranjama's in the Deccan[25] but they were afterwards granted the Saranjam of Udaji. Other two captains of eminence who were

profited by the fall of Udaji in Malwa were Ranoji Shinde and Malharrao Holkar.

Holkar was appointed as:

(1) Peshwa's agent in Malwa by 1731 with Ranoji.

(2) They were granted seals of Peshwa to use for the administrative purposes on 23rd Oct. 1731 and Mandloi was instructed.[27]

The reference to this effect is found in the Holkarshahi source material, viz.:

मालावा प्राँतीचे अखित्यार राजश्री मल्हारजी होलकर राजश्री राणोजी शिंदे यासी देऊन पाठविले आहेत–यास तुमचा गौर करावयासि कितेक आज्ञा केली आहे। उमयता मशार निल्हे प्रमाणे तुमचा गौर करतील तुम्ही त्यास मेटोन कामकाज करीत जाणे।

The event compel as to conclude that the powerful and ambitious Peshwa vested so much authority in his captains because of certain considerations. viz.—

(i) Being in Malwa for a long time they were well acquainted with the land. People and the local politics and financial resources.

(ii) He was afraid that Bandey and Pawa might not spoils his work by ravaging it.

Hence Ranoji was appointed a Mutalik at Ujjain and got the Saranjam also. Malharji was given 17 Mahals in Oct. 1730. Lastly by 1732 A. D. to 1736 A. D. the Maratha rule was established. The Malwa conquest of the Maratha was complete for the practical purposes by 1732. The Peshwa issued 'Sanads' in the name of Malharji Holkar, Ranoji Shinde, Anandrao Pawar, Tukoji and Jiwaji Pawar jointly and thus the Maratha 'Saranjami' states were formed. After he division of territory the Saranjamdar's personally took interest in consolidating their power in the respective areas allotted to them and in turn appointed officers. The Diwans and Karbahari or Phadnis were appointed by the Poona Government also and every camp had an envoy of Bajirao Peshwa. Naro Shankar or Ramchandra Malhar Sukhatankar who would report their activities. They had to account for each and every expenditure may be for

marriage or death occurrences.[28] Their grants were noted and Saranjam's given by them were also recorded in the Central Secretariat Saranjam Dafter.[29] Malharrao's account sheets are found in the Dafter for the administration of the said areas. This also shows that they made their own arrangements. By 1736. A. D. the Maratha hold over Malwa was complete. Bajirao humbled the Mughal Subedars. The Mughal Emperor was asked to sign the contract made through Sawai Jaisingh of Amer and he gave sanction ractified the treaty with the remark 'Manjoor.'[30]

The treaty did not last long and the war started again, and the Mughal armies were defeated under Nizam Asaf Jah I at Bhopal and the treaty of Duraha Sarai again guaranteed their right over Malwa.

Balaji Bajirao's Tennre

The invasion of Nadir Shah and Death of Bajirao I in May 1740 created problems for Nizam's designs were renewed and Emperor became hopeful of controlling the affairs high on 25th June 1740. June 1740, Nanasaheb or Balaji Bajirao was made the Peshwa. Taking advantage of Nadirshah' attacks Azimullah tried to make disturbances in Maratha territories.

Peshwa ordered Shinde Holkar, Vithal Sheodey and Naroshanker check him, after consultation. With his agent at Delhi[31] who assured him of Jaisingh's help.[32] He entered Malwa and Bundelkhand and the Emperor had no choice but to handover Malwa to the Peshwa.

Dhaulpur Meeting. Peshwa met Jaisingh on 11th May 1741 and offered terms. On 4th July Peshwa was appointed Naib Subedar and by a farmar of 7th Sept. 1741 the whole of Malwa was ceded to Peshwa. With the conditions of maintaining peack and order. In the land. The terms were finally ractified in 1743 A. D. It is a matter of much concern that Ranoji Malharrao Holkar and Pawar Yashwant Rao were asked to stand by as guarantee of Peshwa's policy and the execution of the treaty. Thus right of the Maratha Saranjamdars through the treaty was recognized by Sawai Jaisingh and Nizamulmulk.[33] In other words, there was no danger of both these persons claiming any share or right in Malwa. The *de facto* rulers

were made ruler *de-jure*. the actual power was vested in their hands or 22 July 1732 nd it was the beginning of Maratha. Saranjamadri rule in Malwa. It remained so in name up to 1818 A. D. with the end of Peshwai in Poona the nominal control was also lifted. The provincial states were given the status of a Kingdom and the titles of 'Maharaja' were conferred on them by the British about which we have already discussed in the Ist Chapter at length.

Nature of Saranjami System in Malwa

The Saranjam of Malwa were conferred by the Poona Rajmandal Swari. They were of two types:

(1) Saranjam conferred on to individuals out of Peshwa's share as is clear from the grant of Mokasa Saranjam to Udaji in 1722 A.D.[34]

प्रॅांत गुजराथ व मालवा निम्मे मोकासा हुजूरहुन आम्हो (पेशव्याचे) कडे आहे त्या पैकी निम्न तुम्हाँस संरजाम करुन दिल्हा आहे।

or Malharrao in 1726 A. D. and lastly by the arrangement of July 1732 A. D. These Saranjamdars could in turn confer their Saranjam to their subordinates as Malharji had given Zhabua and Petlawad to Vithoji Buley and Wagh,[35]

(2) They could appoint their office to administer the area even before the final division of 1732 A. D. To clarify the view the following examples may be given.[36]

1. इ० स० 1726 त मालवा जुगराथ येथीले सरंजामी महाल मिलाले त्याचे व्यवस्था साधी खालील इस मांची मुकरी केले

1. मोरो गोपाल यास मुजुमदारी	तैनात सालिन रु० 3000
2. गोविंद चिंतामणी दिवाण	तैनात सालिन रु० 5000
3. बागपुजी त्रींबक प्रभु	तैनात सालिना रु० 5000
4. जीवाजी बापूजी जमेनवीस	तैनात सालिना रु० 6000
5. यशवंत गंगाधर फडणर्स	तैनात सालिना रु० 4000
6. गणेश निलकंठ चिटणीस	तैनात सालिन रु० 1500

This is an example which suggest that even at smallest level the central administrative system was implied. Kamavisdars, Mujnmdars, Phadnis were appointed at different Parganas between 1730-32 also.[37]

(3) Other type was a joint control over certain territories. The Pawars of Dewas and Dhar had the joint control. So the example given to this effect is Sanad dated 1745. A. D. It runs.[33]

ता: 3 माहे जून सन 1745

घडणी कडील अवजां राजमंडल स्वारी मल्हारजी होलकर यग्ज कडे बीजागढ येथील परगणे दोवापा संधेवे दह 104 व नागलवाडी दह 66 या प्रमाणे नवीन मुलुख आला 1 परगणे नेमावर मंचमंहाल सरकार हांडे 1 परगणे नेमावर 1 प्रो हरणगांव 1 प्रो काटाफोड 1 सत्वास १ प्रो राजोर 1 प्रो निमणपूरा एकूण पांच ।

This example suggest that he same type of joint control of Malharji and Ranoji Shinde was sanctioned.

(4) The Khasji Jagir was another grant. The Chhatraspati and Peshwas had it in their own family.[39] So also Dabhade had it in Gujarat. It was conferred on to the members of the family of the Saranjamdars as a personal jagir and the revenue or income was to be spent and accounted for separately. Gautambai Holkar got the Khasji Jagir from the Peshwa. It was with Dwarkabai. It was transferred to Ahilyabai in 1759, then to Anandibai. Rakhmabai and Tulsabai could not use it. Krishnabai (iii) Gautambai II (iv) and in Tukoji Rao II times to Mhalsabai and then Bhagirathbai then to Radhabai and then Varaneeshibai and under Shivaji Rao Daulat and Khasgi got united. This was handed over to the eldest living queen of the Royal family in Holkar family but the Pawars and Shinde also had Khasagi Deptt. Bajirao Peshwa granted Sanad for the area yielding 1 lakh to Gautamabai wife of Malharrao in 1734. A. D.[40] for Pawaras and Shinde's it was not a separate deptt. as with the Holkars. A letter of Daulatrao Shinde to Kashirao Holkar confirms the view.[41] Separate Kamavisdars were appointed to look after the Khasgi administration.[42] The

owner of Khasgi Jagir had complete control over the affairs of Khasgi grants as Ahilyabai used to pass receipts for the expenditure and separate account was maintained.[43] In each state we could notice the post of an officer 'Khasgiwale' even now the family name is continued by such families at Indore and Gwalior, Dewas and Dhar.

(5) The system of saranjami had deep roots in the Maratha State, it developed to rapidly that the fief holders appointed many other Saranjamdar from among their own Saranjam.

Malharji Holkar had 15 Saranjamdars under him controlling 24 Parganas[44] In the light of the system developed act the centre in Maharashtra we find that the establishment of Maratha principalities in Malwa were the of springs of the same system. Ironically enough the system had deep roots from the days of establishment of Maratha state. The Bhosles called the jagir they got from Nizamshahi as 'Daulat' they assumed the title of 'Raja' and the administration of the Jagir was done through the staff.[45]

(6) In Malwa the Saranjamdars got their Sanads at different times. There were additions and changes in the territories the Saranjamdars would own.[46] Shinde and Holkar got a new Sanad in 1758. As per the list prepared Shinde got 6,650,000 and Holkar 74,00,000.

(7) They could accept additional Sanads from others as imam or grant, viz. The emperor also, just as Chandwad was given to Malharji Holkar by the emperor and he could caste rupee coin also named 'Chandwad Sikka' at the mint of Chandwad.

(8) So also the Saranjamdars could purchase the Patilki or headship. This was an old practice going back to Nizamshahi days when Mudhoji Bhosle purchased the Patilki of Erul. The Shinde purchased the Kanherkheda in 1756 Malharji purchased Patilki of Junnar (4). They

could accept territories from other powers such as Rampura was given to Malharji by Madhosingh.[47]

(9) They had separate Sanads to collect tribute from different areas conquerred by them such as in Rajasthan, Doab and other territories. Shinde Holkar Pawars got separate Sandas for Kota and Bundi Mewar Jaipur[48] Peshwa issued Sanads of Deshmuki and Kangoiship of Malharji Holkar and Jankoji Shinde for Neemar and Mandavgarh out of the government share and a joint control over Doab in 1754.[49]

(9) The Saranjam list of 1758 in the Peshwa record mentions Malhaji Holkar, authorised to deep 10,000 and Jankoji Shinde to keep 15,000 troops. In the list the details of collection of the tribute from various sources clarified the view.

The details studied till now suggest that:

(i) The grant of Saranjami Jagir given must have incentive for work.

(ii) The administrative responsibility of the Chhatrapati or Peshwas was shared by the Saranjamdar.

They had officers like Phadnis, Diwans, Majumdar, Sabnis, Chitnis, Deshmukh Deshpande and Kamavisdars appointed by the Central Government such as Gangoba Chandrachud was a Phadnis, Naroshanker as Kamavisdar of Peshwa acting with Malharji Holkar, Ramchandra Bava (Sukhathankar) Shenvi with Shinde, Palsikar as Khasnis with Holkar, Shivaji Shankar with Pawars, were asked to share responsibility of administration had their own officer to look after the state affairs. In Kota they had their own Kamavisdars as some territories were under joint control. None would interfere with other's share and way of collection.

Saranjams Sanad records Krishnaji Pawar and Tukoji Pawar's share sands letter reads—

कृष्णाजी पंवार व जीवाजी पवार याचे सरंजामास—सरकारच्या आसाम्या पेशणी पासून आहेत।

1 गणेश खडेराव मजमदार

2 बिसाजी गंगाधर सबनीस

(4) But the Saranjamdars appointed their own Saranjamdars and officers also to administer the territories given under their control.[51] The grant of land and territory was common practice perhaps to avoid a cash payment. Sometimes the money was paid in advance to Kamavisdars and officers which in turn was a security of their service. Many letters to this effect are found in the source material of Holkar, Pawar, Shinde state of Malwa.

(5) The Saranjamdars used to maintain a fixed number of army as we have seen in case of Shinde, Holkar and Pawar a letter dated 1789-90 runs—

तुम्ही हिंदुस्थानाचे स्वारी समागमे चाकरी करीत आहां त्या प्रो चाकरी करीत जावी इकडून ही निभावणी होईल।[51a]

They were expected to present in person on the battlefield. An explanatory letter by Mahadji Shinde to Peshwa from Mathura dated 31st July 1789 giving explanation about Krishnaji Pawar's (the ruler of Dewas) absence runs thus—

श्रीमंत राजेश्री पंत प्रधान एवामीचे सेवेसी। विनंती सेवक माहादजी सिंदे कृतानेक विज्ञापना येसीजे कृष्णाजी पंवार हिंदुस्थान चे स्वामी समागमे होते त्यास व त्यांचे मातुश्रीस मेटीस बारा वर्ष होत अली म्हाणाने संरजाम पथक येथे चाकरीस ठेवून सडे निरोष धेऊन देवाशास गेले पवार मशारनिले सरकार चाकरीस जपत होते। पथक सरंजाम सुद्धा येथे त्यांचे कारमारी आहेत त्याची खातर जमा केली त्याचा बोभाटा नाही।

The letter shows that the system continued even in the time of Sawai Madhavrao when the Maratha State was controlled by the Council of Ministers.[52]

Another letter of Janardan Laxman Vaidya dated 11th April 1792 to Nana Phadnis confirms the view. The letter refers that Mahadji's Saranjam force was serving the government. It suggests that even the details of the physique and person of the Siledar was to be recorded in the central office. It reads[53]—

राजेश्री पाटीलबावा समागमें हिन्दुस्थानये स्वारीस सरकारची सरंजामी पथके शिलेदार चाकरीत आहेत त्यांच्या गणत्या चेहरेवार दरसाल घेतल्या असतील त्याचे हुजुर दफतरी प्रयोजन पडते याकरिता दफतरी तुम्ही पाठवून घाव्यात त्या पाठवित्या नाहीत त्यास गणत्याजे प्रयोजन आहे म्हणून आज्ञा।

These letters suggest that the control of the central government was complete. Yet, the princely states started functioning in such a way that after the end of Peshwa's power in Poona and with the end of Maratha confederacy there was no political crisis so far their administration was concerned. They could act as independent kings. They were so powerful that they could even sign and make contracts. Malharrao Holkar himself mentioned that after finishing the problems of Sutlana, Tonda, Powagrah he would go to Dongarpur and after completing and signing treaties and contract he would go to Udaipur.[53a]

For practical purposes these Saranjamdars were looking to local administration, justice, were conferring religious grants and endowments, were appointing officers, were making recruitments in army and spending money over construction work, sanctioning grants under Deosthans and Dharmaday department from the very beginning. It is a curious fact to note that thought the central control over their succession and appointments was complete as they had to get 'Sanads' and 'Khillats' for their appointments from Poona Durbar.[54] Yet once they would be seat on their Masand they we quite free in their internal administration. They could use their seals and Mortab which we find on their letters.[54a] Sometimes the Saranjams were confiscated such as is clear from a letter dated 1801-2 by Tukoji Pawar who complained of such Act of the Central Government.[55] In the same period of Bajirao II, the Saranjams of Holkar and Shinde also were ordered to be confiscated. After the battle of Indore a letter of Bajirao II, to Kashirao Holkar written on 15 Saban confirm the view[56] yet for practical purposes the Saranjam Jagirs were working as a State within a State. Though they had to pay tribute in the Poona treasury, they had to assist the central government with their Saranjami force, whenever asked for. But, for internal administration they had hold over the affairs of their territories.

The different Saranjamdars were thus successful in carving states for their dynasties as the Saranjams grants were heriditory.

Formation of Principalities in Malwa

The Holkar. The founder of Holkar State was Malharrao I who entered the Maratha army in 1718 A. D. when Balaji Vishwanath

went to Delhi via Khandesh and Malwa, Malharrao joined the army of Bargirs and Shiledars. he witnessed the Delhi siege of Balaji Vishwanath who got the Sanads for Shahu and started from delhi on 20th March.

In 1721 Bijirao got the Sanads renewed from the emperor by which Khandesh and Baglan was kept under Peshwa's control for collection of Chauth and Sardeshmukhi.

Malharro was in the service of Barwani State in Nemad and was granted a heriditory Jagir by the Rana of Barwani which was taken from the Holkar State for Payment of 50,000 and returned to the concerned ruler in British times in 1909.[57] In 1720 the Marathas entered Malwa. The letters of Shake 1642, Vaishakh Shuddhi 13 i.e. 1720 of Bhadrapad, 6th suggest that Malharji had strained relations with the Rana of Barwani. He was well acquainted with Nandlal Mandloi and the and of Malwa.[58]

Indore taken by Marathas. A letter dated Ashwin Vadya 12 i.e., 1720 mentions the transaction of Malharji with Nandlal Mandloi as the later fixed Rs. 4000 as Autastha (secret agreement) for the revenue of Indore. It was then that Malharji entered the area, viz. Dhar and had stationed his army in the area now known as Malharganj which served as a Maratha Camp.[59] In 1721 Malharji entered Peshwas regular service through Ambaji Parandare.

By 1724 Kampel of Subah Indore of Sarkar Ujjain was assigned to Khasgat Paga[60] and Chimaji Appa.[61] The division of conquerred territories was made in 1726. In 1726 Holkar got Zabuwa and Petlawad by a Sanad of 6th Aug. 1727 (of Rajkird Surusan 1127) of Moharram 20) he got six Mahals of Malwa named Arniya, Runija, Piplod, Deoli, Khachord and Jawara for Saranjam expenditure. In 18/12 he collected the dues of Deshmukhi, Chauth Sayar and Karkuni of Pargana Bagod.

By Feb. 1731 Malharji and Ranoji Shinde were appointed the agent of Peshwa Malharji[62] could appoint his own officers and was powerful enough to change Peshwa's officers as is clear from the letter dated 8th July 1731.[63] By this time he could order the Mandloi to come and meet him.[64]

The Division of 1732 A. D. by Peshwa—by 1732. A. D. as we have been in previous pages the Maratha control over Malwa was so complete that Bajirao issued Sanads for the division of share of Holkar, Shinde and Pawar brothers at Dhar and Dewas by the orders of Shahu on Surusan Salkas Salasin Sal Chha Safar 10 (22nd July 1732) from Peshwa Dafter. The Sanad granted to Malharji runs thus—

धडणी राजमंडल स्वारी राजश्री पंत प्रधान (64 A)

सुरु सन सललासिन मया अजम

खर्चा वछल मूख्य पथक दिम्मत मल्हाराजी होलकर दफतेर (घडलेल्या गोष्टीचे टांचण) यांतील उतारा 6 10 सफर संरजाम मालवा वाटणीचे महाल वाटणी 5 पेका दोन तकसिमा मशार निल्हेकडे।

कितामहाल हल्ली प्राचारात नांव	किता महाल प्रचारात नांव
1 परगणा इंदूर	1 परगणे देपालपूर
1 परगणा बुठा (नारायणगढ)	1 परगणे तराणे
1 परगणा भाबवा	1 परगणे रामपुर
1 परगणा पाटण (नरसिंहगढ)	1 परगणे देवले
1 परगणा गांगुरणी जीरापुर माचलपूर)	1 परगणे महमदपूर (महत्पूर
1 जावरा	1 परगणे लालगढ
1 पिठावा	1 परगणे बेटमे
1 करहई	1 परगणे कायथे
1½ डांगरपूर चौथाई निम्मे	1 परगणे आवेर (सावेर)
1/2 खैराबाद सुद्धा डग निम्मे	1 परगणे महेश्वर
1/2 बकाणी सुद्धा डग	1 परगणे पिपलोद
1 लवाणी नजीक मांडवगढ	1 परगणे बरडावद
1 कोठडे, तलवटी चिखलदे	1/2 परगणे डोंगरपूर पैकी चौथाई
1 काटकुट	1 परगणे संदराल
12½	1 परगणे हसोलपुर

1 परगणे भिलवडीस डग

1 परगणे पिंपलोदे तलाटी पैकी

1 परगणे नजीक उही नेमाड

16½

एकूण 29

Share in 1743

By the ractification of the treaty of 1743 Holkar got 77000 i.e. 33½ of the revenues of Malwa which was recorded in Peshwa Dafter in 1746 but it was remarked that this arrangement effected since 1740. Also with the 2 Takshima as share in Malwa Malharji got a control over the administration of the land and the bright to appoint officers for the maintenance of the said areas. He could appoint envoys and officers like Kamavisdars, Mujumdars and Phadnis, etc.[65] In 1733-34 the founder of Holkar dynasty gave a crushing defeat to Mughal armies under Jaisingh. They revenged the area of Bhadavar Datia, Orchha in the east to Ajmer in the west Finally Jaisingh had to settle the matter by agreeing to by Rs. 22 lakh as a Chauth from Malwa. This success increased the prestige of Holkar and Ranoji Shinde and they both were honoured in Poona Durbar.

In the same year 'Rajshri' Malharji Holkar was conferred with the title of 'Suba'. Now in place of Rajshri *Malharji Holkar dimmat Chimaji Ballal* his title was changed to *Suba Malharji Holkar dimmat Pant Pradhan.* He was bestowed with gifts and honours also with Ranoji Shinde. The same year he got Khasgi Sanad for his wife Gautambai (in 1734) which yielded Rs. 7 lakh and she bestowed it to her daughter-in-law Ahilyabai in 1759. In 1737 the arrangement made by Malharji for, his Saranjam grants, by the division of Jagir Saranjams was as follows:

(1) Vithoji Buley got Patan, Zabua, Lawani, Piploda, Hindole, Kolhade, yielding Rs. 40.000.

(2) Mawaji Wagh Betma yielding Rs. 10,000.

(3) Santaji Wagh-Mahatpur (Mahidpur) yielding Rs. 21.000.

(4) Udaji Lambhate-Ambe, Jirapur Machalpur yielding.

(5) Shivaji Shanker Nishat Rayaji Bingle-Khairabad Bakani yielding Rs. 4,350.

(6) Malji Chitalkar Dongarpur Rs. 6000.

(7) Tukoji Mhaske-Hasalpur, Sandhara Rs. 2500.

(8) Bhojraj Bargal Pidhave Budha Rs. 10000, 15000 respectively.

(9) Khanduji Dhamdhere Budha Share 10,000.

(10) Gangaji Bhagwat Pa Jawara Rs. 11,000

(11) Bhavanji Kadam-Pargane Bardawada Rs. 3000.

(12) Kereoji Sitole Pargane Karahi Rs. 2,000.

(13) Mahadoha Purandare-Pargane Piploda Rs. 2,000.

(14) Khanduji Kadu Pargana Katkut (Khargone).

(15) Kasiba Pargane Amer (Sawer).

Thus by 1737 he had 15 Saranjamdars under him and they were given 24 Parganas to look after,

Also he granted Sanad to Devisa Tilokchand Kothari as Karbhari and a new colon Govindpura was inhabited.[66]

By 1737-38 he got 3011 Parganas. Peshwa's record No. 108 refers the account sheet.[67]

23 Total area under control		Total yield
71½ Partially under control		718954
The Mokasi Mahals were Prant Indore		143804
	Do	Deole 65000
	Do	Depalpur 150000
	Do	Rampura 75000
Total:		4,33,804

Territories

The joint control of the state and Peshwa government were Pargana Budha (Narayangarh) Tarana, Pidhava, Jawara, Sawer, Piplod Bardavada, Karhai, Maheshwar and one more totalling to 2 lakh 500. Independent Mahals assigned to his subordinates yielded 84650. The Moughum Mahals—Zabua, Kothada (Chikhalada) Lawani, Piplod, Hindole (Nimkhed, Khatkut (Khandhoji Kudu) Ramchandrabawa—Kayathe, Lambhate-Jirapur, Machalpur were yielding specific amount Rs. 7,18,954. In 1741 Malwa was handed over to Balaji Bajirao for which he got Imperial Sanad in 1743. Malharji was one of the guarantees to standby as security for the young Peshwa. in 1744 for his victory at Bhilsa he was honoured in 1745. He was bestowed with gifts like the royal dress, bracelet, Shirpech, Tura and the Badge. His son Khanderao, his daughters and envoy Gangadhar Chandrachud. Ramaji Yadav (Palsikar) and Raghav Lakshman also were rewarded. In the same year he got a joint Sanad for Bijagadh and Nagalwadi and Sendhawa Pargana as well as a joint Sanad with Shinde for Nemawar, Harangaon, Katafod, Satwas, Nimanpura.[67a] He got Maheshwar even before this in Sumvat 1790 i.e. (1733 A. D).

Expansion of the State

In 1750 for his help given to the ruler Sawai Madhav Singh he got 10,000 and from Bundi Pargana Rs. 15,000 as tribute as an indirect grant. Malharrao interfered with the Jaipur affairs after the death of Sawai Jaisingh. Madhosingh the younger son of Jaisingh from his marriage with Mewar princes got the Pargana of Rampura.[68] After Jaisingh's death a civil war started in Jaipur State and Malharrao supported the case of Madhosingh for which he got the said Pargana Rampura.[69] In 1750 he got the hereditary Mokasa of Mauza Loni, Vyankantha, Kasba Katrabad and Mandavgad from the Peshwa.[70]

In 1751-52 he got the Saranjam Mahals (in the Fasali sun 1161) from the Peshwa.

The Sanad was granted for the acquisition of territories and the maintenance of the army—

200000 Pargane Ambad			100000	Paragana Chandwad	
30000	"	Galna	40000	"	Paithan ¼
45000	"	Ugan	50000	"	Adavad
125000	"	Sultanpur	100000	"	Nandurbar
			290000		
150000	"	Bijagadh	40000	"	Depur
1000	"	Varkhedi	20000	"	Korhale
			60000	"	Thalner
			7000	"	Ambe
			127000		

650000 including Lone,

Bibi Lakhangaon,

Klatpur

75000 including ¼ Verul

and Raver.

The total of Holkar's share was amounting to Rs. 11,41,000 from the Saranjam granted for the troop brought from the native land. Total area yielding 1661000 was granted to both the nobles. Out of which 520000 was shared by Shinde.

(Extracted from Government of Holkar's Record).[71]

In the same year Holkar with Shinde Jayaji collected Chauth and tribute from Badayi Shahabad, Jetagujar, Tilhar, Sambhal, Muradabad, Sirasi, Lucknow, Amroha, Ahmadpur, Naroli totalling to 6 lakshs and 19 thousand and 40. They collected Rs. 3 lakh from Delhi through Mansurali, from Antarved 3 lakhs 66 thousand and nine hundred fifty-four and from Surajmal Jat Rs. 2 lakh 19 thousand 3 hundred and twenty-six.[72]

In 1752-53 he got a hereditory grant of nine villages in Khandesh.[73] Also Nawab Gajiuddin Khan granted territories to Malharrao Holkar in the same year from his possessions in that area.[74]

In March 1753 when Marathas successfully conquered Antarved, Rehilkhand and Itawa, Peshwa himself wrote with satisfaction—

शाबास तुमच्या हिमंतीची व दिलेरीची रुस्तमीची शाबास लोकांची आमच्या दक्षिणच्चा फौजांनी यमुना गंगा पार हाऊन रोहिल्या पठाणांची युध्य करुन आपण फत्ते पाववे हे कर्म लहान सामान्य न जाले ।

and the victorious subedar was rewarded with 23.5%. A Sanad of Peshwa record Rajmandal Swari mentions Sanad in the name of Masharnile (Malharji Holkar) of Jamadilaval.[75]

The territories of Pargana Itawa, Phapund of the Doab is under the government control. Fro the maintenance of the joint army stationed at Delhi. The amount yielded from said area may be spent and the remaining sum may be shared in the following way:

53-6-0	Government share
23-5-0	Malharji Holkar
23-5-0	Jayaji Shinde

In the same year members of his family and also Tukoji I Holkar received grants from Peshwa.[76] He himself got Jambgao, Deh, Wadia, Dongalgaon, Songarh, Niphad, Piplya Vasant. Patode. Viajapur. A contract also was signed on 19 Nov. 1753 with Ajamgir Mohamma Safi Khan, by which the Marathas (Holkar and Shinde) got (1) Surval (2) Avan and Kasaba Alanpru for them and Kudera was kept as a joint territory.[77]

On the Dasahara of 1754 Malharji went to Poona where he received a joint grant with Shinde for share in Antarved i.e. Doah.

He got Kanaj, Deolali Sakit, Alipurkhed; Sora, Gangeri, Panchkuna, Sikandara totalling to 8 Mahals yielding 6 lakhs 43 thousands.

In the same year Nemad and Mandavagarh were ceded to Malharji and Jankoji Shinde. In the same way their tribute for kota also was fixed to be 38½%.

In 1755 he took Gwalior and got 23-5 Annas for his share in the North from Shirsi, Sialkote, Sarband, Jetagujar, Rohilkhand, Kujapura, Jainagar, etc.[78]

In the same year he got Emperior's Sanads for Khandesh and his own officials got Jagirs. in 1756 he purchased the Patilship of Junnar.[79]

In 1757 he got the assignment of Pargana Fatehpur, Kunwarpur, Katia and Gujar.[80]

In 1758 the Saranjam of Malharrao amounted to 74 lakhs.[80]

In 1760 he was assigned the revenues from Prant Toda Sarkar Ranthambor Suba Ajmr amounting to, 89, 286.[80a]

After the battle of Rakshas Bhuvan whence he helped Peshwa Madhav Rao I against Nizam and also[81] in Madhavrao's struggle with his uncle he tried to bring about some conciliation. He was rewarded for all this. On 13th June 1763 he got another Sanad granting him rights over the territories by removal of earlier administrators. It reads—

राजश्री मल्हारजी होलकर बिन खंडोजी होलकर यास सनद की तुम्हांस फौजेच्या सरंजामास साल मजकुर पासुन पेशजीच्या अमलदारापासुन दूर करुन दिले महाल व गांव बित पशील—

1 प्रगणे सावेर मालवा दरोबस्त खेरीज इनाम व दुमाले गांव करुन बाकी दरोबस्त

1 प्रगणे सिरोंज प्रांत मालवा दरोबस्त खेरीज दुभाले गांव व इनाम बजा करुन बाकी दरोबस्त

1 तर्फ देपूर प्रगणे संगमनेर, 1 मोजे पांडे प्रगणे दिडोही येथील जहागीरीचा अमल दरोबस्त

1 सरकार बीजागढ पेकी दुभाले महालवला

1 प्रगणे कान्हापूर कैलासवासी तीर्थरुप (बाजीराव साहेब) यांजकडीस अन्न छत्राकडे

2 निस्बत खंडेराव पवार, 1 प्रगणे सुलतानपुर 1 प्रगणे बडखल

1 प्रगणे बरडे निस्बत बहोरजी बाबर

2 तुम्हांकडे पेशजी पासुन चालु आहेत 1 प्रगणे संघवे 1 प्रगणे नागलवाड़ी

i प्रगणे मालवा 10 निस्बत दादुखान 3 इतर (नाव नाही)

एकूण तेरागांव वजाकरुन बाकी दरोबस्त हया प्रमाणे महल व सरकार व देह व सरंजाम करार करुन दिल्हा असे।

Thus the Sanad granted him two Parganas in Malwa, one Taluka and one village in Khandesh the whole of Sarkar of Bijagarh excluding 5 Parganans in Khanhesh.[83]

Madhavrao I was quite young when he was conferred with Peshwaship but like a true statesman, diplomate and general of first rate he faced the problems. He was in his times that North Indian territories were given to his men of confidence like Malharrao Holkar, Shinde, Yashwantrao Pawar, Naroshankar, Antaji Mankeshwar Kanade and Biniwale[84] Malharrao's victory over Najibkhan by joining the Sikhs and Jats must have helped in increasing his power and prestige. Though in between he had to suffer defeat at the hands of Sikhs and Jawahir Singh against whom Malharrao helped Naharsigh one of the candidate for the Bharatpur throne after Surajmal Jat demise. He was also defeated the British force when he tried to enter Bengal.

When Madhavrao I sent Raghunathrao to North both Malharrao and Raghoba entered the territory of Zanshi to punish the Jat but at Alampur he died. On Vaishakh Shudda 11 (May 1766).[85]

Thus the career of Malharrao suggests that he could be called to be the founder of Holkar State in Malwa.

We have seen that, whatever achievements Malharro had it was in the name of Peshwa government and for a long time the administration was also done in his name. The famous sentence of Ahilyabai—Even the great warrior Yashwantrao Holkar who was the staunch enemy of the weak Peshwa Bajirao II in the early stage of their struggle asked for a permission to visit Jepuri which the Peshwa refused to give,[86] supports our view that up to 1818, (though even nominally) they were under Peshwa government. It is evident from the fact that when Peshwa Bajirao II asked of an armed surrection against the British in 1817 Holkar responded and the battle of Manipur was fought.

Development of Indore as a Capital

From the very beginning of the establishment of the Maratha power in Malwa centres of activities were decided. Under Mughals Indore was selected as a centre for trade with the Marathas in 1715

A. D. by the Jamindars of Kampel who came and settled themselves in June Indore area and the colony of Nandlalpura was inhabited by the leader of the house Nandlal Mandloi in 1716 A. D. and he got the permission of the Mughal officer to allow duty free trade in the said area. He received a Sanad for the purpose, asking the officer and clerks of Suba Malwa Sarkar Ujjain Kasba Indore to note that Nandlal Mandloi had inhabited a new colony after his name called Nandlalpura. A Sanad dated Saturday 3rd March 1816 in Mandloi Dafter supports this fact.[87] In 1734 Malharro got 9 Parganas adjacent to Indore as a hereditory Saranjam. Originally Holkar used this place for his military camp and the area where he used to encamp is known as 'Malharganj.'

In 1740 he got constructed the old Rajwada and by 1743 he invited bankers and businessmen to inhabitate the area Even today the are of Malharganj and Sarafa are the centres of businesses activities in Indore.[88] Slowly the town developed as a capital. In 1754 Chhatribag area was inhabited as the Canotphes of Khanderao Holkar and Gautambai Holkar were constructed. The colony of Gautampura and Krishnapura were named after the Holkar and Gautambai Holkar were constructed. The colony of Gautampura and Krishnapura were named after the Holkar queens Gautambai the wife of Malharrao and Krishnabai the wife of Yashwantrao Holkar. In between 1785-90 the city developed as is evident from a letter dated 15th Oct. 1789, that "the people from Ujjain, Dhar, Dewas and Mamai (Bombay) had come over to Indore to stay there permanently." Same type of letter in 1784 in recorded.

A letter of 12th March 1791 suggests that by the end of 18th Century Indore was developed as a capital.[89]

Though for the period of Ahilyabai's administration from 1767 to her death in 1795 Maheshwar was the centre of activities but the capital was at Indore for Tukoji Holkar was invested with subedarship on 3rd June 1767.[89a] Also with the exception of Yashwantrao Holkar's period who stayed at Bhanpura, the centre of activities remained Indore. Thus a state was formed with its capital at Indore.

It may be clarified here that if the Holkars were under the Peshwas how they could be expected to rule Independently? But, it

can be argued and as I have stated earlier though they were the tributaries of Peshwa and even their Saranjams could have been confiscated or extended, though they had officers appointed by Peshwa yet the strange point in the Saranjams Jagirs was that they were to bear the responsibility of administering the territories ceded to them.[90]

Hence, but for the nominal control specially after Balaji Bajirao Holkar state was a State within a State. By 1759 when the Astha Pradhan Mandal came to an end in Maharashtra the Holkars became one of the confederates of Maratha confederacy und.r Peshwas control. But by the treaty of Rajapur Ghat in 1805. The treaty of 1806 nd 1818 at Mandsanar the British treated them separately and in 1818 the Peshwai also came to an end.[91]

The Central India State Gazette of Indore State Vol. II 1908 gives the details of the territories controlled by the Holkar State.

The territories as under the control in 1908.

Barwaha	Baswa	Harangaon
Bhikangaon	Betma	Harauphal
Brahmangaon	Bhambari	Harsola
Chikhalda	Bhamnala	Hasalpur
Kasravada	Bheroghat	Halad
Lawani	Bijagarh	Indor
Sanawad	Bijawad	Indore city
Sendhwa	Bolia	Jagoti
Sily	Borgarh	Jam
Rampura	Dahi	Jam-ghat
Bhanpura	Darji Kavadia	Janapao
Chandawasa	Danshawal	Zharda
Garoth	Datoda	Kalarda
Manasa	Dehri	Kalakund
Nandwas	Deoguradia	Kampali
Narayangarh	Dewasia Ghat	Kunjarda

Sunel	Dhajra	Kannod
Talen	Dhantalao	Karai
Zirapur	Dhantalao	Karedi (Karadia)
Alampur	Dhargaon (Maheshwar)	Kataphod
Antri	Dhavil	Kasrawad
Baglighat	Dudhakhedi	Katkut (Nimar)
Balakwara	Fatehgarh	Khadaoda
Balwada	Guraghat	Kayatha
Barud	Gautampura	Khargone
Basoda Khudel	Gwalanghat	Khajrana
		Khategaon
		Khenoi Ghat
		Khudgaon
		Kurampur

The Parganas and villages coverd were—

Mahala	Sanawad	Panigaon
Kothadi Pardi	Sandalpur	Pat
Kukadeshwar	Sandhara	Patalpani
Kundikheda	Sanwer	Permi
Lawani	Salwas	Raipur (Sunel Pargana)
Lingpanighat	Satkheda	Rajor
Machalpur	Sendwa	Rajmandal
Mahagarh	Shamgarh	Ramgarh
Maheshwar	Simrol	Ranthanwar
Mandleshwar	Singarchauki	Rajwas
Makdon (Mahidpur)	Sunderasi	Sagur Bhagur*
Manasa	Sunel	

Mardana	Tarana
Mahidpur	Thuriaghat
Mhow (Cant)	Tharod (Narayangarh Pargana)
Nagalwadi	Umarhan
Nandwai	Warla
Nemawar	Yashwantnagar
Nisarpur	Zirapur

I. Holkar Rulers of Indore State

1.	Malharrao Holkar	1728-66 A. D.
2.	Malerao Holkar	1766-67 A. D.
3.	Ahilyabai Holkar	1767-95 A. D.
4.	Tukoji Rao Holkar	1767-97 A. D
5.	Yashwantrao Holkar	1798-1811 A. D.
6.	Malharrao Holkar	1811-33 A. D.
7.	Martand Rao Holkar	1833-34 A. D.
8.	Marirao Holkar	1834-43 A. D.
9.	Khanderao Holkar	1843-44 A. D.
10.	Tukoji Rao Hollkar II	1844-86 A. D.
11.	Shivajirao Holkar I	1866-03 A. D.
12.	Tukojirao Holkar III	1903-28 A. D. died in May, 1978
13.	Yashwantrao Holkar II	1929-1947 A. D.

Rulers of Shinde Dynasty

1.	Ranoji Shinde	1726-45 A. D.
2.	Jayappa Shinde	1745-59 A. D.
3.	Dattaji Shinde	1759

* Holkar State Territories.

4.	Jankoji Shinde	1759-61 A. D.
5.	Mahadji Sinde	1761-94 A. D.
6.	Daulat Rao Shinde	1794-1843 A. D.
7.	Jayaji Rao Shinde	1843-86 A. D.
8.	Madhavrao Shinde	1887-1933 A. D.
9.	Jiwajiro Shinde	1934-47 A. D.

Shinde State in Malwa

The founder of this dynasty Ranoji Shinde elonged to the Pail family of Kanherkheda. In many works written about the Shindes and the Shinde dynasty it is argued that he started his career by entering Balaji Peshwa's service by becoming a menial servant. As Malcolm states it might have been due to ambition and indigence[93] but by the time Bajirao I succeeded Balaji Vishwanath, he was promoted as incharge of Paga and was a prominent chief in Peshwas service, as is evident from the fact that he fought against Mubarzkhan and was wounded in the battle of Sakharkheda.[94] He participated in the battle of Amzera and was further elaved as in 1729 he was granted Saranjam that was enjoyed by Pilaji Jadhav.[95]

राणोजी सिंदे पूर्वी पागे होते नंतर दयाबहादुर उजनचा सुमा बुडविला तेंव्हापासून हिंदुस्थानचा सुमा वर्ष बारा पर्यतंदौलत केली।

Hence it is wrong to assume that Ranoji's rise was sudden and quick. He was well acquainted with the Peshwa and his family even before Malharrao Holkar was who, entered Peshwas service only in 1720-21.[96] But so far his services and grants in Malwa are considered it was in 1731 that he was appointed as an envoy of Peshwa in Malwa with Malharrao. This appointment followed with the right to use the seals of Peshwa[97] letter dated 23.10.1731 to Tejkaran Mandli support our view.[98] Here one thing needs our attention that the association of Malharji with Peshwa was not that old as that of Ranoji. Hence, looking to Malharji's help Bajirao I might have granted him Saranjams in 1726 for he was well acquainted with the region also. As for Ranoji, he was a man of confidence for the Peshwa being in his contact since long and in Peshwa's service for a long time, that is why he was associated with

Holkar as agent perhaps as a precaution by the Peshwa. It was then that the actual division was made by 22.10.1731 as a letter to that effect is found in Peshwa Dafter.[99] In 1732 July Sanad for the division of Malwa was granted. Ranoji got equal share with Holkar by the order from Poona Durbar.[100] Out of the share of 5 Takshima he got 2 out of it and got Ujjain and the neighbouring areas[101] like Shajapur, Shujawalpur, etc.

Thus Ujjain was made the centre of his activities and he had his camp stationed at Ujjain. The total amount yielding from his Saranjam was about 65½ lakhs Ujjain remained the Capital till 1810 wherein that year Daulat Rao Shinde shifted it to Gwalior.

After division of 1732—he could get Afzalpur, Athana Amjhera, Rajgad, Bakaner Bagana, Badagaon, Badod Baro. Nolai-Badnagar, Bhadhava, Serogarh Sonkatch, Bhopawar, Bichord, Chamkeshwar, Gajnikhedi, Pahabagad, Gandhaval, Deola Narisingnad Decan Gulana, Guradiyadida, Jaitha, Zharkar, Kaliadeh Kanad, Karnavad, Nalkheda, Neori, Borasa, Panbihar which were given to Sardar Angre.[102] So also Rajod which was given to Sardar Ghorpade Ranuganj Shujalpur Sundarisi was controlled by the joint rule Tajpur, Undasa, Unhel were acuired by Ranoji and Jayappa, but it can be inferred that Shinde and Holkar got equal share in all the divisions made from 1732 onwards whether it was for tribute or a Saranjam. In 1744 Ranoji with Pawars and Holkar got a share of the tribute from Bhilwada of which Holkar and Shinde got equal share of 12000.[103] By 1744 Shinde was authorised to collect tribute from Piplod. Indragad, Khaloti and Kota also. In 1751-52 they got a share of 5,20,000 to be yielded from different areas.[104] In 1753 the Shindes got a share with Holkar in a contract[105] with Ajam Meer and in 1754 got joint control over Kannay Deolali, Sara, Gangeri, Panchkuna, Sikandara. The share of Shinde and Holkar both was Rs. 23 and 5 annnas[106] totalling to 4 lakhs 43000.

In the same year Shinde got a joint Sanad for Named and Mandavgad with Holkar for which they had to give a Nazar of 10,000 to the Peshwa.[107]

In 1758 the share of Indragarh was fixed and it was decided that half of the share might be taken from Ranthambor and Hadoti. From Indragarh 11 villages yielding 4000 Balopa Mahal 8 Maujas

Rs. 67000 and from Dopri 12 Maujas 16100 all from Anghara or Indragarh Samaik villages equally with Malharji Holkar amounting to Rs 26,650.[108]

Same type for arrangement was made about the tribute and Nazrana and Tika from Kota at the rate of 38½% for Holkar and Shinde by Nov. 1757[109] and this way it was a joint Jagir of Shinde Holkar and Pawar.

In December 1759 an equal share with Holkar was granted to Shinde and the got Dhopri, Borada, Hatoli and Holkar go Neemsara, Rajpura, Nanga.[110] From Jaipur Tribute after defeating Madhavsingh fo Jaipur Malharji and Kedarji Shinde got Rs. 77,000 according to the Sanad of 14th June 1767.[111] In 1768 by a division of tribute share for North India according to which the Peshwa government got 40%, Holkar, 21%, Shinde, 21% and Pawars of Dhar 8%; Pawars of Dewas 4%

In Feb. 1769 the shares of Indragad were divided equally giving 8 Mauja each to Shinde and Holkar, viz.[112]

Holkar—8	Shinde—8
1. Mauza Nata	Maunja Daulatpura
2. Kavar Pura	Balupa
3. Nimsara	Borada
4. Lakravata	Hatoli
5. Rajpura	Mirajapur
6. Chhapad	Bahulya Khurd
7. Kakavata	Delod
8. Dhanaba	Kekod

In Yadi No. 4 of Peshwa Dafter Nivadak Kagad the details of the Saranjam grants are given up to 1780.[113]

Mahadji and the Expansion of Shinde Sate

The power and prestige of Shinde State exceeded after Mahadji's accession.

It can be concluded that the Shindeshahi State was formed and founded by Ranoji but it reached its highest water mark under

Mahadji Shinde who not only fought with Rajput and in Antavved and Chiefs of Mughal curt but controlled Malwa and the North Indian affairs. Mathura, Vrindavan Prayag and Agra with territories in Marwar, Mewas and Jaipur were controlled by him. He had Baroch, Ahmadnagar, Alibag and other area under him in deccan. He was conferred with the rights on Daulat in 1661. After the battle of Panipat he consolidated his position in Malwa and Rajasthan.[114] He controlled many place in Haryana, viz. Revadi, Gokulgad, Patoda, Jahajgad, Beri, Kosali, Nahad and also played a decisive role in the civil war taking place at Poona[115] and fought in the Angle Maratha war. After the treaty of Salby he had a free hand in North Indian affairs as British made friendship with him. In the name of Peshwa he brought the emperor from Agra[116] a letter dated April 1784 of Sadashiv Dinkar narrates that the British tried to control the Delhi affairs but the Mughal emperor himself wanted the Marathas to save him from the disaster and that Patil Bawa is insisted to take the lead'. The Poona government also asked Shinde to do so though he complained that in the Anglo-Maratha War he spent money and energy but no one cared for him'. Yet with the help of Chiefs like Krishnaji Pawar and the other Chiefs he wanted to bring the emperor to Delhi and was successful in meeting the latter.[117] He got the title of Viakil-E-Mutalik on 3rd Dec. 1784 of the emperor. This was such a honourable post that according to Yadunath Sarkar—only three persons were honoured by getting appointed on this post in the Timur dynasty.[117a]

Nana Phadnis suspected him of his independent activities so he called his allies like Krishnaji Pawar and Mahadji himself back to Poona.

James Phadnis suspected him of his independent activities so he called his allies like Krishnaji Pawar and Mahadji himself back to Poona.

James Anderson the British envoy at Mahadji's court wrote from Mathura to the then Governor-General John MacPherson from the Mathura Camp. The leter runs:

James Anderson to John Macpherson G. G.—

Sindias Camp, Muttra—29th July 1786.

I have frequently received intelligence of Sindhias having been recalled by the Peshwa but to day it is reported in camp that besides the recall of himself separate letters to this effect have been sent to all the Peshwas chiefs now with Sindhia and Particularly to Babu Etal Rao (Babuji Bajirao Atre and Kishan Pawar. In another letter of 6th August 1786 Anderson again wrote the Governor-General 'there is now every reason to believe the truth of the report which I submitted to you in my last of the Peshwas recall not only of Sindhia but of such of the independent Jagirdars as are now with him. Kishan Pawar had in consequences taken his leave and set out for Deccan leaving, however, the greatest part of his troops under the command of his son.'[118]

Though about Krishnaji Pawar's return Mahadji Shinde wrote a number of letters to Peshwa, Nana Phadnis, Haripant Phadke, Ramji Jadhav, Tukoji Pawar, Anandrao Pawar and others in which he stated that due to ill-health, desire to see his mother desiring to get the sanction for his successor Tukoji from the Peshwa and to visit the family God Khandoba at Jejrui, Krishnaji departed from Mathura to Dewas and there from on his way to the Deccan but died at Burhanpur. He also recommended the case of Tukoji Pawar in the same letters.[119] All these activities of Shinde show us that he was quite free in taking actions Also he complained of the ill-treatment given to him in comparison to the treatment, given to a sardars like Tukoji Holkar. He complained further that Holkar did not keep the number of troops he had been asked as per the Saranjam Sanads and that he should be sent for a march in Gujarat or Katchh-Buja, He complained that his 'Saranjam' was smaller in size to that of Holkar.[120] It is argued that Nana Phadnis delibertedly followed a policy of protecting and backing Holkar to control the former by creating dissensions. Because, Mahadji had become so powerful that Nana Phadnis suspected the letter, of taking his place as a regent of Peshwa. (It was with this idea in mind that Mahadji was wavering to take Raghobas side in the early days of the civil war).[121]

But the records tell us that, whatever might have been his designs Mahadji till his death never acted otherwise. It was but natural that when the Chhatrapati at Satara ceased to exercise power an the young Peshwa was controlled by his secretary Nana Phadnis

why Mahadji a powerful chief and a 'king maker' could be expected to be subserbiant to Nana Phadnis who was not a man of arms. Also Tukoji Holkar and Ali Bahadur opposed him. If Shinde wanted to play mischief he would not have asked the emperor Shah Alam to handover the title of Naib-e-Muib and Bakshi-ul-Mumalik to the Peshwas on 1st Dec. 1784.[121a] In those days treachery of the kind was quite possible. rise of Haider Ali in Deccan was the contemporary's example. Mahadji left a state which was the most powerful state of India covering a large area in North India, Rajasthan, Malwa, Deccan and Gujarat.

He acted more independently and played a decisive role in Indian politics had a big army trained by European officers like De Biogne. It is argued that his disciplined troops and organizing capacity gets the credit of Mahadji's distant and successful marches from Doab to Jaipur or Jadhpur. After De boigne Phopham was engaged.

His successor Daulat Rao could expect for a better place in Peshwa's court and actually supported Bajirao's II case creating dissension in Peshwa family and also a deadly clash with Holkar resulting in Peshwa's flight to Bassein.

But in the IInd Anglo-Maratha War he lost many battles to the British and lost a large territory by the treaty of Surji Arjuna Gaon in 1803.[122] This made him penyless and his power was so eurbed that even though he tried to raise his head by making contacts with Holkar and Bhosle of Nagpur after the defeat nothing could come out and by the treaty of Gwalior in 1817 he was still more controlled. The weakness of Daulatrao Shinde and his anti-Holkar move alienated him from a valuable ally against the British in Malwa and finally reducing him to a status of a comparatively weaker chief.

After 1818 when Peshwai ended the nominal control also was lost and the Shindes from their seat at Gwalior ruled their areas as independent chiefs.

By 1908 the Shinde State controlled the following areas.[123]

Afzalpur, Agar, Eno, Akodha, Alapur, Ambah, Amanchar, Amaha, Amzera, Antari, Agen, Aron, Atev, Athana, Bajana, Bagh, Pargana Nalkhed, Shujalpur, Shajapur, Sonkatch, Jila Mandsaur,

Pargana Bhaugarh, Gongapur, Javad, Nahargarh, Neemuch, Singoli, Bakaner, Bahadurpur, Bamor, Barod, Barai, Badagaon, Badnagar, Baro, Basoda, Berchha, Bhadva, Bherogarh, Bhelsa, Bhander, Bhaurasa, Bhind, Bichrod, Chanchoda, Bijepur, Bilao, Chanderi, Chankeshwar, Daboh, Deota Narsingarh, Fatehabad, Gondhaval, Gohad, Gwalior, Gyaraspur, Himmagarh, Isagad, Taitpura, Jeeran, Kachnar, Kaliadah, Karnavad, Khachrod, Kharavāli, Lahar, Maharajpur Mehgaon, Malvargarh, Nanawar, Murar, Murena, Nazada, Narwar, Neori, Pachchar, Paniar, Pichhor, Raghunathpur, Rajgad, Rajod, Ringod, Sabalgad, Salbya, Sheopur, Shivpuri, Soyat, Sunderai, Tajpur, Tanda, Udaygiri, Ujjain, Unhel.

Formation of Dhar State

The Pawars were the decendents of the Parmars the Rajputs rules of Malwa and Rajputana. After the advent of the Muslims, the various branches of this ruling family migrated to different areas and one such branch migrated to Maharashtra in 17th Century.[123a] The founder of the dynasty was Sabusingh or Shivaji Pawar[124] who was born at Dhar. After migrating to Deccan he and his successors got mixed with the local society and thus were called Marathas. This Sabusingh entered Shivaji's service.[125] A contemporary Bhat 'Pata' composed a poem for him.[126] He inhabited a village in the Ahmadnagar district at Sukhewadi called Supa and was given the Patilship of the village by the Great Shivaji. His successors served Shivaji and his successors Rajaram. The Grand son of this Sabusingh named Buaji got the title of 'Vishwasrao' from Chhatrapati Rajaram, and his brother Keroji got the title of Senabarashastri.[129] Many bhats like Thakursi have composed poems for them, praising their achievements.

They got 'Saranjam' for this Vishwas Rai title. In 1696 they entered Malwa and came up to Mandu, and as a result of the policy of Tarabai the wife of Rajaram, the regular raids of the Marathas started, Kaloji Pawar Vishwas Rao, Rayayi, Sambhaji and his son Udajis hared the responsibility because the Vishwasrao had some Sarajnam villages on the borders of Malwa.

In Shahu's times two two brothers Kaloji and Sambhaji served Shahu and Kaloji was conferred with the title of 'Subhelashkar's in

1714, and Tuko Narayan was appointed his Mujumdar.[130] The Saranjam of these Pawar brothers was a joint one.[181] So also the Pawar brothers had the Saranjam in Gujarath, viz. Zabua, Kolhade Piapatan Ali, Mohan Bisnagar Makdai, Rajpinpale and Mandvi in Malwa and 15 villages in Gujarat, Pilaji Gaikwad and Kanthaji Kadam Bande were ordered not to disturb them in the control of their Mokasa lands.[132] In Gujarat half of the territory was gave to Peshwa Bajiro and half to the Senapati Dabhade and from the portion of Dabhade the five Parganas were given to them.

Thus the steming of Maratha State in Malwa was actually done by the Pawars of Supa who in the times of Rajaram and Tarabai entered area perhaps with a view to regain their encestral seat one among them Vishwas Rao went to Delhi with Balaji Vishwanath also.[133]

Udaji's Success

Udaji's with his brother Anandrao and the cousin brothers Krishnaji Tukoji and Jiwaji was octive in Malwa. In 1722 he got half of the share of Peshwa in Malwa and Gujarath, Udaji got a Saranjam Mokasa authorising him to levy chauth in Malwa by a Sanad of 11th August 1725 and even got some nobles and commanders to assist him in his work.[134] In the battle of Amzera he rendered valuable services to the Peshwa and his services were acknowledged also by Peshwa.[135] The Pawars were already active in Gujarat by the orders of Shahu. A letter of Krishnaji Pawar Vishwas or to Bajirao dated 15.4.1728 suffices the fact.[136] After his success Udaji asked for an equal share of Malwa from Bajirao[137] Malharro Holkar tried to mediate but atleast his younger brother Anandrao was considered and Udaji was deprived of his Malwa possessions.[138]

Anandrao thus got his share of Rs. 16 and 4 by the contract made by the Peshwa with Malharji Holkar and Ranoji Shinde a Patas.

Division of Malwa in 1732—Pawars Share

By a letter of 26th July 1752 Bajirao informed Anandrao that the division of Malwa Mahals had been made and the Sanads for the same had been issued, so also from the other territories like Ajmer,

Prayag, Datiya and Wodse (Orchha) the share after excluding the Diwanship and Sardeshmukhi share he should take 16%. The Dhar State share in the settlement of Saranjam was as follows [138a]

राजश्री आनंदराव पवार यांसी सरंजाम दरसदे रु 16 प्रा ध्यावे मुकासे बो दरोबस्त नाबती सरदेशमुखी व जमाती देखील

1 धार

1 पा बदनावर

1 पा सार्वेर

1 पा ताल

III पा बासवाड़ा तीन तक्षिमा

II पा डोगरपूर आनंदराव व तुकोजी व जीवाजी पंवार यांसी निमे मुकाया याचा तह दरसदे

16 आनंदराव

7 तुकोजी जीवाजी

23

बिमे 1 पा गंगराड

1 पा डग

1 पा धर्मपुरी

1 पा सुनेल

1 पा अगरबडे

101

सदरहु दर सदे रु० सोलाचा आकार जाहना त्यास सदरहु परगणे दरोबस्त विल्हे असेत, तहनामा अलाहिदा करुन दिल्हा असे। सनदा हर दुजणा जवली विहिया असेत।

By 1735 the State got a joint control with the pawars of Dewas over the following parganas by a Sanad granted on 17th August 1735.[139] The Parganas were—

1 Pargana Kothade

1 Pargana Nalse (Nalachha)

1 Pargana Dogale

1 Pargana Bakari

1 Pargana Kairabad

16 आनंदराव

7 तुकोजी.

23

तहनामा आलाहिदा करून दिल्हा असे, सनदा हरदूजणाजवली दिल्ल असेत.

The Pawars also got a confirmation Sanad in 1735 on 17th August. The addition was made. In place of 1/4 Banswada tribute it was made for whole of it and also for half of Dongarpur it was made for complete Pargana of Dongarpur but Alot was not granted. Grants for places like Jalgaon, Chikhalwahal in Maharashtra was made.[156] In 1744 for the share of Khairabad, Bhilwadi and Kota, the Pawars of Dewas got 7%.[157] In 1757 the 'Nazrana' of Kota was fixed Rs. 6, 15.000 for Tukoji at Jiwaji and the rate of 7%. In 1757-58 they again got a Saranjam with details of officers and clerks to be appointed and a Sanad for Indragarh, tribute at the rat of 7% totalling to Rs. 3308. In Indragarh, Jugarpura, Roopura, Madras, Balsada, Solari, Tamar, Dongari, Malpura, Chachtya, Mojpura. In Dhipri-Godhade Kakavata, Sinola, Nimala, Sejah Todi, Bajpur Khedli Gharsod Pard. In Pargana Balopa-Asinda, Jatwadi, Navgaon, Gavadi, Talkarde, an the joint control over Dulatpura, Modi Kunwarpura were granted.[158] It was again renewed in 1759.[159] In the share of the tribute of Hindustan the Pawars of Dewas got 4% to be divided equally between the two brothers.[160]

In 1769 the Indragarh division was made and Krishnaji and Jiwaji Pawar of Dewas got Mauja Mohri, Mauja Borda Khurd Mauja Gudhala totaling 3 Parganas.[161]

In 1773 they got at the rate of Rs. 23 from Kota tribute amounting to Rs. 2,53,000. The contract letter runs in the dialect of Kota.[162] In 1780 the Saranjam pat shows the details of the territories controlled by the Pawars in which Pargana Alot is mentioned.[163] Yadi of 1781 of Peshwa Dafter's selected papers shows that they were to get 90,000 from Bundelkhand.[164] In 1782-83 Krishnaji and Sadashiv Rao Pawa got the renewal of their grants in which Hamirpur an Kukshi also were mentioned with other Maujas.[165]

In 1789 the Saranjam for Sadashivrao Pawar was renewed for the territories of Maharashtra, Malwa and Rajputana. In the same

year they got some 37 Sanad out of which the Sanad of Hindustan (North India) mentioned the rat of Tribute to be collected at 12%.[166] In 1789-90 the Sanad was granted by Madhavrao Narayan Peshwa by which Saranjam rights were renewed.

Dewasan, Alot, Sarangpur, Ringnod, Bagod and Lohri were ket under direct control. Sundersai and Hamirpur for 3/4 of the tribute was granted with other previous Parganas, numbering to 18, with territories or Maujas numbering to 6 in Maharashtra. Total Parganas and Maujas numbering to 30.[167]

A grant for Kota on 18th May 1791 granted them 7% of revenues when the Mahalrao Umedesingh asked them to receive the remittance in the form of horses, camels and cloth 'Pasmina'.[168] Even the last sanad of 18th March 1818 which was in the form of Yadi from Srimanta Bajirao II is found. It is dated Samvat 1874 Shake 1739. Mahe Jawal i.e. Falgun Shuddha 2 and it gives the complete details of the division. Thus the Dewas State was formed. Just like in Dhar, Pawars of Dewas had also to suffer at the hands of Shinde. Holkan and Pndaris during 1807-17.[169] Hence finally they signed treaties with the British.

The formation of the provincial dynasties and their relations with the Home Government The formation of the provincial states gives us the clue that the Saranjam grants made nearly every alternate year or with a span of 2 to 3 years were technically the Peshwas property. Even the title conferred on Mahadji Shinde Tukoji I, after the death of Krishnaji Pawar, or the titles conferred on Kashirao Holkar show us that the consent of the Peshwa was thought to be essential as Mahadji himself wrote very many letters narrating the causes and events of Pawars department from Mathura Camp. He insisted that the Peshwa should invest Tukoji with the royal honours. Till the battle of Panipat the control from Poona seems to be complete as study of the source material of Pawars, Shinde, Holkar suggest and confirms our view. Even the distribution of work in the court of Saranjamadars was made at Poona, viz., office work of Ramaji Yadav Paksikar and Gangadhar Chandrachud was distributed at Poona.[169a]

After Panipat nobles like Malharrao Holkar acted as a mediater[170] but Mahadji was invested with the rights to rule the

Daulat and thus he remained loyal to the thrown till his death. So also the Holkars did up to Tukoji Holkar. But Yashwantrao revolted against Bajirao II but still he respected the 'Masnad' of Peshwa and tried to install Amnutrao and handle the situation at Poona.

Here one thing needs to be made clear that though it is argued that the Maratha confederacy came to an end, after Panipat it is clear that even though the ruler of distant places like Malwa were independent in their internal policies yet they needed a 'Peshwa' whether or if controlled by either Shinde or Holkar up to 1818. The Saranjam Yadis up to 1817 show that the Marathas in Malwa honoured these orders. That was the reason all the Marathas could join at Kharda also in 1795 A. D.[171] All the points clarify the view that though internally local chiefs were independent of administration of justice, military policy or accelesiastical matters yet they for political purposes they essentially needed some one to act as a head and that was provided to them till 1817 by the 'Masnad' at Poona.

For the administration also the Maratha States in Malwa depended much on the central government for, the Saranjam they granted to their subordinates, for the details of the contents of valuables in treasury, and appointments of officers and clerks, and even the details of the troops were to be sent[172] at the same time it is evident from letters that the central government could ask them to be present at the capital, whenever called for[173] but on the whole for the internal administration of their Saranjam. The nobles were independent Though Peshwa had his envoys at different centres of political activities.

The Relations of the Local States with Each Other: i.e., the Relations of Pawars, Shinde and Holkar

The relations of Shinde, Holkar and Pawar states in Malwa depended on the following points;

(1) The commanders working under Peshwas orders their relations upon the battle of Panipat.

(2) The nature of Saranjam granted to each one of them.

(3) The work entrusted to them and their activities in their field of actions.

As seen in the last pages we are aware that Shinde, Holkar and Pawars of Dhar and Dewas owed their rise to power an the establishment of their states in Malwa to the expansionist policy of Peshwa Bajirao I, who granted them the Saranjam in Malwa[174] in the name of Shahu to the stages of Malwa unquest show that all of them were present in the battles of Amzera[175] in Bundelkhand[176] and in Delhi[177] and Bhopal. The letter of Bajirao to Brahmendra Swami dated 5th April states that Holkar Shinde and Pawars had taken part in the against the Mughals at Delhi—

राजश्री मल्हारजी होलकर, राणोजी सिंदे, राजेश्री तुकोजी पंवार व जीवाजी पंवार व यशवंतराव पंवार व मानाजी पायगुडे व गोबिंद हरी पाठविले त्याचे याचे भुजहोऊन मोगल मोडिले।

Hence they acted in accordance with Peshwas orders. There are letter when Ranoji Shinde and Malharji Holkar recommended the case of Udaji and Anandrao Pawar to be considered for Saranjam in Malwa. Chimaji Appa wrote to Bajirao I—

मल्हारजी होलकराचे विचारे फार आग्रह आहे कि दोघा मावांसही पदरी घ्यावे दोघांचे न बनेच तर आनंदरायास तरी पदरी घ्यावं फोजमारी होईल मुलखगिरी लांबवर आऊनकरु[178]

So also the decision of the grant to Tukoji and Jiwaji were taken in consultations with Ranoji and Malharrao. A letter dated 22nd October 1731 by Bajirao I runs—

राजश्री मल्हारजी होलकर व राणोजी शिंदे यास पत्र की तुमची आमची बोली पाटसचे मुकामी राजश्री तुकोजी पवार विसी जाली[179]

All these commanders were active in Malwa Rajputana, Ajmer, Prayag, Datia and Vodso or Orchha also.[180] They corporated and stayed together in Malwa after the Jaisingh Peshwa concord in 1736.[181] In short in Bajirao's times they had amiable relations.

Shinde and Holkar Relations up to Panipat

Both Malharji and Ranoji were appointed agents of Peshwa by 1731 A. D. They were taking part in all the expeditions carried under Peshwa's orders. But by 1745 A. D. it the sky began to darken. For, the expansionist policy of the Marathas led them to North India and Rajasthan. In the same year Ranoji Shinde died at Mirzapur named

In 1735 Anandrao died at Ujjain of snake bite. In 1737 A. D. his son and successor Yashwantrao went with the Peshwa's army at Delhi and fought at Bhopal and Vasai (Bassein) and was confirmed even with the list of officers and clerks appointed and the contents in 'Jamdarkhana'.[140] In 1744 a division was made with regards to the territory in Rajasthan. An account sheet dated 24th May 1744 shows that they were authorised to collect tribute from Khairabad Bakni Bhilwadi, Kota, in which Pawar Yashwantrao got 15,668 at the rate of 16%[141] by a sanad of 27th Jan 1745 they got a sand for Kanungoship (Kangoi).[142]

1751 A. D. by a Sanad for Kota the share was confirmed.[143] The share of Vishwas Rao Saranjami in 1757-58 was Rs. 8627 for Dhar State. In 1758 the division of Indragad Sarkar Suba Ajmar of Prant Hadoti was made in which Yashwantrao Pawar got 16% an the areas of Anghora or Indragarh, Gudha and Bhatpura were granted to Pawars.[144] These types of grant of Sanad are recorded in 1780 and Khanderao Pawar got a Saranjam of 16% for Kothade, Sundarsai, Dongal Dongar and 3/4 of Basawada, Kota, so far, Indragad Khatoli, Shaharpur, Piplod, Karvvad, Chhayan Bakane, Pha-Kase.[145] The Sanad was renewed in 1782-83[146] and Sept. 1789[147] and 1790.

Thus Pawar State was formed but after Khanderao when his posthumous son Anandrao came to power the troubles started but he also died in 1807 at a young age and the state was brought to a dissolute condition as the Pindaris and the enemity between Shinde and Holkar resulted in pillaging this area.[148] The widow queen Mainabai managed the state of affairs and appealed for help to Shinde, Pawars of Dewas[149] and then the Holkar queen Tulsabai and Bharmal Holkar[150] finalls when the State was reduced to last extremity and she saved it through British interference.

By 1908 the Dhar State had the following Pargana and villages under it.[150]

Dhar	Paragana
Badnawar	Paragana
Dharampuri	Paragana
Kukshi	Paragana
Nimanpur	Paragana

Mandu	Paragana
Nalchha	Paragana
Thikri	Paragana
Sundarasi	Parapana

Villages

Abu	Khalghat
Badnavar	Katoda
Bet	Kotkhera
Dhamnod	Larawad
Gujri	Limrani
Hatanwar	Lingwa
Kadod	Nagda
Kanwan	Sadalpur
Kathora	Singhana
Kesur	Sundarasi
	Tarapur

Pawar Rulers of Dhar State

Anandrao Pawar	1732-1376 A. D
Yashwantrao Pawar	1735-1761 A. D
Khanderao Pawar	1761-1780 A. D
Anandrao II Pawar	1780-1807 A. D
Ramchandrarao I Pawar	1807-1810 A. D.
Ramchandrarao II Pawar	1810-1833 A. D.
Yashwantrao Pawar II	1833-1857 A. D.
Anandrao Pawar III	1867-1898 A. D.
Udaji Rao Pawar II	1898-1926 A. D.
Anandrao Pawar IV died in 1982	1826-1947 A. D

4. Pawar Rulers of Dewas State Senior

1.	Tukjoi Pawar I	1732-1748 A. D.
2.	Krishnaji Rao Pawar I	1748-1789
3.	Tukjoi Rao Pawar II	1789-1827
4.	Rukmangad Rao Khasesaheb	1827-1860
5.	Krishnajai Rao Pawar II	1861-1899
6.	Tukaji Rao Pawar III	1899-1937
7.	Vikram Singh Pawar After 1947 went to Kalhapur	1937-1947
8.	Krishnaji Rao Pawar III	1947

5. Pawar Rulers of Dewas State Junior

1.	Jiwaji Rao Pawar	1732-1775 A. D.
2.	Sadashiv Rao Pawar	1775-1790 A. D.
3.	Rukmangad Rao Pawar	1790-1817
4.	Anandrao Pawar	1817-1840 A. D.
5.	Haibatrao Pawar	1840-1864 A. D
6.	Narayan Rao Pawar	1865-1892 A. D.
7.	Malharrao Pawar	1893-1934 A. D.
8.	Sadashiv Rao Khasesaheb	1935-1943 A. D.
9.	Yashwantrao Bhausaheb	1943-1947 (June death 1982 June)

The Pawars of Dewas

The Dewas branch of Pawars also belonged to Sabusingh's decent and it was directly connected to the Vishwasrao branch of Kaloji Pawar who served under Shahu and his sons Krishnaji, Tukoji served under Peshwa Balaji Vishwanath and went to Delhi with him and in Bajirao times. They took past in his battle with Nizam at Palkhed.[5] In 1728 Bajirao wrote to the Kamavisdar that Tukoji and Anandrao had been granted the Mokase of the village 'Foot'. In

1728 they fought in the battle of Amzera hence were considered[152] and by 1731 were granted 7% out of the Maratha share of Malwa.[153]

By the division of 1732 both the brothers got a joint Sanad a the rate of 7%.[154] Both Tukoji and Jiwaji got their following Pargnas as joint Saranjam.[155]

लेखांक 41 सन् 1732

संरजोम पथके प्रातं मालवापैकी सालमजकुरीं दिल्हा असे

राजश्री तुकोजी व जिवाजी पवार दरसदे रुपये 7 ध्यावयाचा तह करुन मुकासे हिल्हे माहाल वितपसील

1 पा देवासे

1 पा सारंगपुर

1 पा इंगणोद

1 पा आलोट

I पाबासवाड़ा चौथाई

1 पा बागोद ता तल्हादी

II पा डोगरपूर

निमेपैकी तक्षीम दरसदे रू।। 7

5।।।

दरसदे सात रुपये आकार जाहला

त्यांयवजी सदरहू पा दरोवस्त दिल्हें असें.

समाईक सरंजाम राजक्षी आनंद राव पवार व तुकोजी पंवार व जिवाजी पवार यासी समाईक सरंजाम परगणके दो।।

(दरोबस्त) बाबर्ती सरदेशमुखी व जकाती.

1.1 पा खेराबाद निने.

1.1 पा बाकोणी निमे.

1 पा नालसे

1.1 पा कोठडे निमे.

1 पा डोगले.

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यांसी तह सदरहूं माहालचा आकार होईल त्यासदर

(2) The Problem of expenses of Ali Bahadur

(3) Policy for Budelkhand.

Holkar sided with Ali Bahadur and the troubles started for Shinde. Still Shinde controlled Gulam Kadar and gave back Tal Vithur, Pachol and Gunmukteshwa, to Holkar but the Sanads has Inam or Sayar grants reserved or Shinde, so they were returned to Shinde. Hence, Holkar had no gain Jaipur was to pay 17 lakhs as arears and he was lost his name and fame also to revenge this insult, while returning to Indore he pillaged Ujjain Attempts were made at Poona and also by Shinde to came to some conclusion. Naro Krishna and Devrao Hingne were sent from Poona. The Central Government asped Tukjoi to go to Patiala as he was accused of idleness, the agents warned—

घरचा विचार पाहुन विरुद्ध बाढविणे तम बाढवावे सरमारचे लक्ष सोडून कराल तर कठीण बहुत दिवसाची दोलत आहे हे बुडते ते तुमचे पिणे बुडते

There was much of argumentation and Tukoji started for the Gujarath expedition but Shinde's demise changed the situation. Ahilyabai expressed her condolences through letters before Shinde's officers.[195]

Yaswant Rao Holkar and Daulat Rao Shinde

Mahadji was succeded to the powerful state by Daulatrao a lad of 15 and also not a man of qualities. Tukoji died in 1797 A. D. who left a legacy of Chactic Holkar State where his two sons Kashirao and Sawai Malharrao fought and the arrogant Malharrao was supported by his step brothers Vithoji and Yaswantrao. At Poona Sawai Madhavrao died of accident to be succeeded by unassumptous and jealous Bijirao II who was bent upon curbing the power of Nana and his supporters. In addition to this his succession also was not accepted by all. Yashwant Rao and Daulatrao tried to snatch the position of the arbitrator of the state for themselves and all this lead to a period of jealousies, rivalvies, accusations, oppositions truth this resulted in the fight of Bajirao II to Bassein and the long drawn Anglo-Maratha war, after which Wellesley could boast that they had 'an empire in India previously but now the

British had empire of India'. In between they tried for reconciliation also but the doubts which they had about each other could never allow them to come together.

It was only after 1818 that Shindes and Holkars could have cordial relations specially in the times of Tukoji II.[195a]

Shinde and Holkar with Pawars of Dhar and Dewas

So far Pawars of Dhar and Dewas are concerned they got joint shares of many villages like Sundersi, Sunel, Bagod or areas in Rajasthan and North India about which I have discussed in last pages. Dhar being the oldest centre of the activities of Pawars, was under he other Pawar branch having more than double the share of the joints ruler of Dewas. The Dewashkar Pawars took part in all the battles from Palkhed, Amzera, Delhi, Panipat including Rakshabhuvan and Kharda. They were with Mahadji Shinde in Mathura Camp also. Letter to this effect are collected in the Dewas Samsthan Pawar Gharanyachya Itihasachi Sadhane by Gujar, M. V. Previously with Ahilaybai and Mahadji Holkars Shinde and Pawars had cordial relations.[195b]

Shinde and Holkar attacks on the Territories of Dhar and Dewas in the last year of 18th and early years of 19th century

But in the period known as Gardi Ka Vakta specially after the British wars started there was chaos and confusion everywhere. The putty states suffered due to the enemy of Shinde and Holkar as a result of which, the local Jamindars and Pindaris revolted and plunderd the areas. These Pindaries were helped by Holkars and Shidnes.[196] The Pindaris took Saranpur ravaged Dewas, Shujalpur, Tarana, Berchha, Susner, Sundarsi and the adjacent area was taken by Holkar Pindari Kadar Baksh. Shinde and Holkar took Dag[197] Gangrad, Alot, Ringnod, Gadguchcha[198] and Lahori was taken by Shinde[199] So also Agar, Badnavar, Sunel were ravaged.[200] The area of Bakani Khairabad, Chhayan, Kirwad, Piplod and Shaharpur was taken by Shinde and Kota State.[201] At a result of this there was a scramble for territories. He local chiefs and Jamindars also tried to scoop as much as possible. Karim Bohra and Jamindars of Makrana

fought for Kukshi.[202] Ramdin also took certain areas of Ringnod, Alot, etc.[203] Sonkatch, Neori, Bhorasa and Tajpur were taken by Khumansingh. Shahmad Khan Pathan took Gangadhar.[204]

The Dhar State

In the State of Dhar the ruler Anandrao was young. In this period Rangrao Odhekar the Diwan of the Stated revolted and with the help of Pindaris took Agar and Sunel. Then Bapukhan took Agar under Shindeshahi. Rangrao brought Holkar at Kesud and joined either Shinde or Holkar against his state Dhar. Tal and Mandwal and taken by Gangaram Kothari hence the rule was mostly staying at Baroda. For he had no power to oppose Shinde and Holkar.[205] He died on 9th June 1807.

It resulted in the degrading conditions of the state of Dhar. The State was brought to a state of bankruplacy. There was money in the treasury and even the safety of capital was in danger. Peshwa did not made any hold over the activities in Malwas. After the ruler's death he was succeeded with a posthumus son and his young queen Mainabai became the regent.

One of the candidate Murarrao Pawar tried to get something out of this chaos and claimed for the gaddi. A letter explaining the situation of Dhar State runs—

सर्वचे सरदारीत मुभुक्षितपणा होऊन ते पोट मरावया करिता फिरतान तसी जागा मिलून एक मालवा त्यात धार संस्थान म्हणेजे मोडकी काठी त्यापपी त्यानी सुद्धाकशास मागे पूढे पाहावे?[206]

The State of Dewas

Same was the case with Dewas State. Tukoji Pawar and Rukmangad Pawar tried to face the situation. The Phadnis Appaji Bapurao, Shivram Govind, Majumdar. Makaji Jairam Supekar, Sakharam Vishwanath Gandhe (Supekar), Jogoba Bapur, Ganpatrao Gopal all had correspondence with each other as they were saving the states some how or other by sending armies to Sarangpur, Mandsaur, Ringnod, Alcot, Gadguchha, etc. The condition of the state can be understand. in the words—

प्रलय महालात मांडला आहे।

A letter dated 18.11.1816 of Peshwa Dafter Niddak Kagad Patre clarified the policy followed by Shinde and Hokar. It states about Pargana Alot.[207]

प्रस्तुत आलोट हा माहल शिंदे याजकडील मामले दार सांगितला होता त्यानी दोन पागा आलोटाव धातल्या आहे होलकर यांचया ही तों पाणी सुटले आहे कि महाल हस्तगत करावा शिंदे कडीलही महाल हस्तगत करण्याचे बेतान आहे उमयतात ज्याचौ जबरी होईल त्याचे हातात जाईल।

In short the rule of 'might is right' was being applied.

Mainabai appealed to Shinde and Tulsabai and Ladabai

The widow queens of Yashwantrao Holkar and to Bharmal Holkar. As the daughter of Yashwantrao Holkar Bhimabai Buley also created troubles for the state and she took Kukshi and Lohari. she also requested them to curb the revolt of Morrow.[208] Mainabai appealed to Shinde also.[209] Dault Rao Shinde arranged to curb the power of Murarrao who was defeated at Berachha. The Mahals Berachha and Badnagar were handed over by Shinde to Pawars of Dhar[210] so also Dewaskar Pawars got back Alot, Ringnod Gadguchha, etc. from Holkars and Shinde.[211] Even they appealed to the Peshwa to see that these armies of rulers would retreat to their areas,[212] In the mean time they attacked Raghogarh and defeated the Khirchi ruler also.[213]

The Importance of the Interrelations of the principalities and Consequences of their Dissentions

(1) In the pre-Panipat days the co-operations of these nobles having territories in Malwa helped the Peshwas to expand their power but the expansion made it impossible for the Central Government at Poona to control their activities. While the talks with Jaisingh were going on Balaji could ask his commanders to stop pillaging the areas. Even Balaji scolded Malharji Holkar for pillaging Rampura while he had talks with Jaising a Dholpur but after sometimes when the Marathas entered the Northern politics the control was impossible.

Ranagang near Shujalpur. Shinde, Holkars and Pawars had joint control over Kota Indragarh, Bhilwada, Patan Sunderasi, Nimar and the areas in Doab, They used to be letters for the grants of Saranjams till the times of Sawai Madhav Rao as we have been in the last pages. Also they had separate officers like Kamavisdars and Phadnis appointed by themselves, viz., Kalasi Yashwant Gulgule. Abaji Raghunath, Nigdikar in Kota or Balaji Hari Gopal, Antaji and Baji Chimnaji at Kota and Patan. They used to keep separate accounts of collections made by them[182] and they were strictly warned to do so. Hence, there was no point of clash. Yet the letter of Ranoji, Jayaji and Mlhar Rao Holkar written to Gulgule, at Kota many times gives us an indication that here was a sort of indifference (expected to be) shown by the concerning officers of different commanders.

होलकर व पवार गवराह? हे आपली वाटबीचा हिस्सा मागतात ये किसी आज्ञाकरावी म्हणून लिहिले तर ज्याचा यास शिसत्याप्रमाणे देवे।

or the Kamavisdar of Holkar was repriminded by Ranjo Shinde in these words—

तुम्ही कते शहाणपणाचा अहंभाव वरुन–मन मानेती वर्तणूक करित चिंता नाही आमचा पैसा खावंदास अगर सोबल्यास कोणास सुटणार नाही।[183]

but sill they were working together in the north, Gujarath, Daoh, Delhi, Bundelkhand and even Rajasthan.

In the pre-Panipat days the Marathas even went to Rohilkhand. Multan, Kalta and Lahore. Kashi, Prayag,[184] Mathura and Vrindavan were brought under Maratha and committed themselves by the treaty of 1752. They promised to protect the Mughal emperor. Shindes made friends with the Jats and Kota rulers. The Jat ruler was opposing Najibkhan who became a friend of Malharrao Holkar. In fact clashes took place when Holkar interfered the Jaipur affairs by siding with Madhosingh against Ishwarsingh in the war of succession after Sawai Jaisingh's death. Although previously both sided with the later but when Madhosingh promised to pay 65 lakhs. Holkar went to his side and go Rampura for himself.

Thirdly when the Marathas attached the Jat area to collect revenue, Jayaji went to Marwar from Delhi via Narnol hence

Khanderao Holkar the son of Malharrao died when Kumbheri was be seiged. he was fighting alone under the imperial orders in 1755 A. D.[185]

The letter of Malharji shows that he had good relations with Marwas hence when Marwar ruler Bakhtasingh died Shinde opposed Bijaysingh and was assassinated by treachery.[186] In Kota, Jaipur or Marwar they hade contradictory views and would cold the Kamavisdars of each other. Yet it can be argued that they normal relations. A leer of 30th August 1758, supports out view.

राजश्री जनकोजी शिंदे व आमच्या भेटी जाल्या,

सारश्य होऊन कोणे विशी संशयी राहिला नाही।

Perhaps Gangadhars Chandrachud mediated because he went to the camp of Shinde and informed him about Holkars arrival to his camp. He said[187]

सुभेदार भेटावयास येतात–अव्हेर न करावा

But in Panipat again the Shinde family suffered the greatest blow, as Jankioji died fighting with Sadashiv Bhoua (though for a long time their pretenders made the things doubtful) Dattaji was arrested and assissinate with Ibrahim Gandhi by the orders of Abdali. Some how Mahadji could escape but with a beverewaived. It is argued Malharrao escaped from the battlefield. It is argued Malharrao escaped from the battlefield,[188] It is a noted fact that after Dattaji's death near Sikandara Malharrao was so much shocked that his wife had to roused up his moral in the words—

तुम्ही चांगले शुरु अनुभवी व पोक्त सरदार असून या समयी शोक करिता बसला हे काय? दत्ताजी आणि जनकोजी कालची पोरे त्यांनी रावढ़ा पराक्रम केला आणि तुम्ही रडतबसला? जनकाजी शिंदे जख्मी असून त्याचे समाधान करावे हे योग्य

The substance of what Gautambai's in these words suggest that there was no such enemity prevalent among them. All this resulted in the event of Lakheri where the Rajput rulers tried to oust Marathas and Malharrao disturbed and depressed by the fetal blow of Panipat could not save the situation Malharji Holkar died in 1764 A. D. Letter of Mahadji of Madhavsingh of Jaipur informing about

Malerrao's accession, suggests there was no enemity between the two houses to an irreperable stage. Still when Mahadji cam to power the relations could no get a normal turn. Tukoji Holkar was his main opponent in his expansionist policy in the north and Rajasthan. After the battle of Panipat Mahadji took the task of consolidating Maratha power and prestige in North. Mahadji himself referred that due to internal strife he could not complete his conquest in Rajputana where the Marathas had also to collect the tribute dues.

Mahadji and Ahilyabai

Credit goes to the veteran queen Ahilyabai Holka whom Mahadji also respected that being in neighbourhood at Ujjain also both had no clash. She tried to maintain cordial relations with Mahadji when Rajputs took Nimbaheda she offered him help in Rajputana also. Mahadji who was known for his humanitarian attitude took special care that after Malharra's death his grandson is recognized as ruler and that the relations of both the states were cordial. His Hindi letters to Jaipur ruler Swai Madhavsingh state the fact. In another two letters to Sawai Pratapsingh he warned that Tank and Rampura belonged to revered Ahilyabai and it should be evacuate and handed over to her, and that the Kamavisdars of Holkar be handed over the area The letter No. 1 dates Sravan Badi 9 Samvat 1823, 2nd are date 3 Samvat 1841 and the third Miti Asadh Badi 14, Samvat 1839.[188a]

A the time of Mahadji's encounter in Rajasthan Ahilyabai also supported him with men and material.[189] She even asked Nana Phadnis to send Tukoji for the help of Mahadji and like wise Tukoii and Ali Bahadur[190] were sent but Alibahadur could join him in October 1788 and Tukoji went to him on 31st July 1988.

Holkar Tukoji and Mahadji Shinde

In between Mahadji had to suffer defeat at Tunga (Lalsot) in March 1787 single handed for the Mughals also left him in whose name he went to collect dues in Rajasthan. Mahadji had to confess.[191]

The enemity reached to a stage is evident from the fact that on 15th November 1787 Tukoji wrote a letter to Sawai Pratapsingh in which he expressed his indifference over Mahadji's defeat it runs—

मीती असोध सुध प्रसमन 1844

गुरुवार 11-11-1787

सीधश्री महाराजाधीराज

राजराजेन्द्र महाराज श्री सवाई परताप सींधजी ज्योग्य श्री राव तुकोजी होलकर केन बाचज्यो अठाका–समाचार भला छे रा का भला चाहिजे अप्रच कागद राज को आयो समाचार बांचा और लीषा जो पटेलजी इहां आय मामलन को जुबान सवोल ठहराया बाकी पाती दोनी पाथे घरती लेवाको इरादा कीयो जद लाचार होय जयपुर से कच कर राडो को इतीफाक पड़ो उसपर पटेलजी ढीग पधारा गया या लीषा सो मालूम हुआ कदीमतु जो रीत भांत चली आई वोही सी लाई मंजूर थी।

Thus Holkar did not support Mahadji and supported the Chudawats Mewad and Jaipur case[192] when Tukoji went to Patiala but by an order of 23rd March 1793 was asked to leave Patiala and was ordered not to sit idle. He was warned by a letter from the home government.

तुम्ही सिंदे दौलती मातबर सरदार–कसवास मसहुर आहे हज्ञी कडे तुई मुले वाकडी पडल गेली त्याचा लोकीक फार जाला–आहे येणे करुन सरकार नुकसानी त्यापक्षी दुई मोडून सरकार काम व्हादेती गोष्ट करावी।[193]

Though Mahadji soon recovered his position and curbed Gulam Hadir but he complained to Peshwa's agent at Delhi of the ill treatment he met at the hands of the home government under Nana Phadnis,who was favouring Tukoji Holkar. Also the war of Lakheri which took place in May-June 1793. Exposed their relations to the extent that even Ahilyabai had to scold Tukoji of his retreat and insisted on the poe's power to be curbed but was happy over their reconciliation.[194] But both the parties had their complaints. Tukoji was in south for a long time and Mahadji though facing the problems could ascend to a higher position where he asked for Tukoji's help. But the later did nothing, Nana Phadnis to solve the problem sead Ali Bahadur to Bundelkhand but Shinde couldnot reconcile with him and the clash between the two was increased by

(1) Gosai apisode

(2) This led to clashes between Malharji Holkar Jayaji and Dattaji Shinde, Mahadji with Tukoji Holkar and Ali Bahadur, Yashwantrao Holkar with Daulatrao Shinde.

(3) This alienated them from the support of Rajputs and the local chiefs who earller considered the Marathas as she saviour of their hour and faith.

(4) The British could make use of the opportunity offered to them by the dissentions, resulting in plight of Bajirao II to Bassein and in the second Maratha war the alienation of Yashwant Rao Holkar by Arther wellesley were the results of the same policy.

(5) To curb (under the pretex) the revolting chiefs and maintain peace and order British send their officers. A letter dated 11.5.1814 reads.

जानबतीस याची रवानगी मालवे प्रांती बंडाचे वगैरे और बदोबता करिता केली आहे ।[214]

(6) The petty rulers like Pawars of Dhar and Dewas and even the Rajput felt unsafe and submitted unconditionally before the British.[215]

(7) Thus even before the arms could be used the British won them by tact and tricks.

(8) All this finally ended with the end of Maratha rule at Poona and the establishment of British Paramountancy an India.[216]

(9) The above points may be attributed to their political relations but one thing is worth nothing that they had exchanges of officers, and due to the same social relations and administrative backgrounds they had maintained matrimonial relations such a Pawars of Dhar and Dewas had with Shinde and Gaikwads or with the families in Maharashtra. So also they would engage officers of each other's state, viz., Ramchandra Malhar Sukhtankar, Balaji Laxman Wakankar were with Shinde and then the later went to Dhar and in later period kashinath Oak. Lele, Madhav Rao Kibe all these persons served a different places of Dhar, Indore, Dewas,

Gwalior. They had cultural exchanges also as we will see in the coming chapters that an artist of one state was petronised by the other and same was the case with priests painters, singer and architects, all this resulted in the spread of a common culture in Malwa or wherever they went together.

Rajasthan Land and People

This piece of land lies in the Eastern part of Indian Peninsula. The land of Rajputana lies between 23°3'—30°12' and 67°30'—80°18'.[217] In the north bond by Punjab in the south, south-east by Malwa (Madhya Pradesh), Sindh (Pakistan) in the west and south west by Gujarat. The Arrival range bisected it into two parts from North-East to South-West[218] i.e. from Delhi to Gujarat.

The Political Units of Rajasthan

Out of the two parts the Northeastern part includes the states of Jodhpur, Bikaner, Jaisalmer and the Southeastern includes a group of smaller states. The most important of them being, the one of the Kachhawahas called Amer of Jaipur, with its offshoots—Shekhawats of Alwar. In South Rajputana lies the land of Mewar the source and centre of inspiration for the freedom loving people. The vassels of the State being Dungarpur, Banswada, Pratapgad and Shahpura. East of Mewar lies Hadauti, the land of hada Rajputs and the states of Bundi, Kota, Bakani and Khairabad. The residents of this area called 'Rajputs' are a class of warriors. The important among them being the Chauhans, Rathods, Kachhwahas, Sisodias and Hadas.

While discussing the relations among the two, the most important point underconsideration is that the Rajputs had a glorious past, a deep rooted culture and traditions behind them. Even many dynasties residing in Maharashtra claimed—their origin from the land of the Rajputs. Like, the Powers claimed lineage from Parmars and even Bhosles who get the credit for creating the independent state in 'Maharashtra' traced their origin with Sisodias. The geographical setup of both Maharashtra and Rajasthan created a

class of people may be called rough and hardly but a real freedom lowing class. The Scotch of Indias' as called by Sir Birdwood George.[219]

Early Maratha-Rajput Contacts

The ancestor of many Kshatraya families of Maharashtra are said to have migrated to Maharashtra, the land having the cross roads from Malwa and Gujarat, might have made it easy for the people to have contacts with Rajasthan.

The Marathas came in contact with the Rajputs in the times of Shivaji when Jaswant Singh the ruler of Jodhpur was deputed to South, with Shaista Khan the viceroy of Deccan to assist him.[220] Shaista was humbled but Jaswant Singh was accused of helping Shivaji by remaining inactive. The Surat Factory—President and the Portuguese Come de-Gnarda are the main architects.[221] Bernier and Manucci also mention this point in their works.[222] But,

(1) The contemporary records Alamgiranana, Fatuhat-E-Alamgiri, Maasir-A-Alamgiri and Maasirul-Amalado not accuse him;

(2) Jaswant Singh was already taunted and accused and punished by Aurangzeb for his taking side of the pro-Hindu Darashikoh.[223] It was after much difficulty that he could get recognition. hence he would have been more careful in his dealings with Shivaji being a Hindu;

(3) Aurangzeb who was wellknown for his suspicious nature and Shrewdness and cunning could never have spared Jaswant Singh for any such mischief again. It was not Jaswant Singh for any such mischief again. It was not Jaswant Singh but it was Shaista who was punished[224] by him;

(4) In future also we can easily note the point that more than the Jaipur State the State of Marwar, was mainly active against the Marathas;

(5) It is argued that great historians of Maratha history like duff J. G., Sarkor J., Sardesai, G. S. and Kincaid and Parasnis have leaned towards the balance of suspician

but it may be called an immotional state of mind. I could not get any such hint while studying the works of these historians. So far Europeans are concerned no one of them were the eyewitness of the event and the Muslims who were, there, did not accuse Jaswant Singh, for treachery to the emperor

(6) Mughal army had good intelligence service and two of the commanders were always active against each other. Then Shiwaji was not in the Desh area where the two were staying, actually he was in Konkan and was leading a life of fugitive for the last three years. Hence this view of accusing Jaswant Singh having contact with Shivaji holds no ground. The second time Maratha contact came with Jaisingh who did his service as a representative of Mughal emperor and there is no doubt that Shivaji was humble by him. No historian points out to the harmony of feelings of these co-religionist. Thus it may be argued that the only thing the Maratha could know of the Rajputs of Marwar and Amber was about their way of life in the Mughal camp. Shivaji gets the credit of his victóries and success single handed and it cannot bė attributed to the help of any other power except the people of his own land, may be Hindus or Muslims. Aurangzeb also with shrewdness warded of any political combination against the empire by demanding to furnish a contingent force of Rajputs.

Sambhaji and the Rajputs-Mughal War

Shivaji was succeeded by Sambhaji and after the death of Jaswantisingh who was succeeded by two posthumous sons, of whom one Jaisingh survived. Durgadas Rathore the loyal and confident supporter of the family arranged to save the infant's life and send him to Rajashan where he got the support of other Rajputs like the ruler of Mewad and the Rajput's revolt against the policy of Aurangzeb. Aurangzeb send his son Akbar who in turn joined the Rajputs and revolted against the emperor nimself. Durgadas tried to

join hands with Sambhaji in Maharashtra.[225] Durgadas and Prince Akbar both went to south which alerted Sambhaji at first and though for sometimes he was reluctant to render help, he could rely the two after sometimes as Durgadas disclosed a plot of Annaji Datto against Sambhaji.[226] He also granted the two to jagir to maintain themselves.

Maratha-Akbar-Rajput alliance against Aurangzeb

Durgadas soon was brought in family tie of Kavikalash as the later's wife put a Rakhi on Durgadas's wrist and meeting was arranged between Smbhaji and the two.[227] Perhaps a contract was signed as they helped Sambhaji in his seige against the Siddi of Janjira to support the cuse of Hindus, Sambhaji tried to win over and repeatedly appealed, the Kachhawaha ruler Raja Ramsingh, the successor of Jaisingh[228] but he paid no heed to it. Durgadas with a Maratha force left for Gujarat under the leadership of Ganapati and Dhanaji Jadhav. Aurangzeb come to South with preparations and defeated the allied force of Akbar and Durgadas. Akbar in frustration left the country for Persia as he could not expect from the Marathas.[229]

Sambhaji is criticized for his inability to make use of the occasion and Durgadas remained in Deccan for six years without availing any concrete support from Sambhaji[230] but it may be argued that:

(1) The advent of Akbar and Durgadas was the advent of fugitives without any power behind him. How Sambhaji was expected to support them One being the son of the mighty emperor other the loyal supporters of Rathore Jatwantsingh who fought against Marathas.

(2) How he was expected atonce to rely the opponent of immediate past? Still, he gave then the possible help.

(3) Sambhaji's career exposes the odds and difficulties he was facing without his family, government and the external foes of the Maratha state in those days. Again, the Rathods could not get any support from their own brothers of Mewar and Amber of which Mewar Joined hands with the Mughals after 1681 A. D. when they lost

their battles and Ramsingh dared not to oppose the mighty emperor. After Sambhaji's execution and in Rajaram's times we do not get any glimpse of direct contact. whereas after the death of Rajaram in 1700 A. D. the Maraha war of Independence continued under Tarabai the brave widow of Rajaram and the Maratha soldiers entered Malwa up to Sironj and Mandsaur. In this war against Marathas many Rajputs like Sujansingh, Ajabsingh Zorawar Singh and Bijaysingh of Banera were sent to Deccanio fight for the Mughals. As is known Shahu was a captive of the Mughals till the death of the mighty emperor, and so he was successful in maintaining cordial relations with the Rajput in this period. He was given a hearty send if by them while leaving for his homeland ofter his release.[231]

Early Maratha Contacts with the Smaller States of Rajputana: The Hadauti Land:

It is a curious fact to note that though political contacts of Marathas with the Rajputs came through the might emperor Aurangzeb the smaller states in Rajasthan were weaving a net of cordial relations with the Marathas long back. In fact Dr. Raghubirsingh the learned scholar of Malwa. mentions that view that the Haudati marks the frontier of Malwa. The important centres being Kota, Bundi, Shahabad, Shergarh Nahargarh and Bakani.

As early as 1683, Rao Kishoresingh Hada of Kota appointed a Maratha Brahmin officer the son of one Sadashiv Mahadeo in his State,[232] that appears to be the Coldest record of Maratha contact. Rao Ramsingh of Kota served under Zulfikar Khan in Deccan and had cordial relations with the captive Shau, son of Sambhaji and the future 'Raja' of Maratha state. It is recorded that he granted Jagirs to Maratha Brahmins then,[233] When Rajaram's agent Netaji Pradhan went to Delhi in 1697 A. D. he was welcomed by the Kota state.[234] In 1702 Rao Bhimsingh of Kota invited them to crush revolts in Southern territory and Marathas under Chandra Pandit and Hindu Rao helped him.

Shahu and the Early Maratha Raids in the North Rajput Policy

As we have seen that even in the days of Tarabai Marathas attacked in the North specially in Malwa and Gujarat. In 1711 Ganga entered with a hoard of soliders up to Ujjain and was paid Rs. 25000. It was a challenge to the neighbouring states like Mewar. Hence Sawai Jaisingh approached Sangramsingh of Mewar and expressed his deep concern over the issue. Jaisingh was thought to be suitable man a commander and diplomate of first order by the Emperor to be appointed as the Governor of Malwa. Thus he opposed them in 1715 A. D.[235] in the battle of Pilsud.

Mewar was asked to support the Mughal cause against the Marathas and it was in the interest of the State also. The Maharana deputed Biharidas Pancholi against Marathas with a force. Marathas captured Rupram Dhabhai and Bhat Himmat Rai of Jaisingh's camp. Though Mewar officer got them released yet his adventure of the Marathas exposed the weakness of the Mughal power in Malwa.[236]

The Maratha Success in the North and the Possibility of a Maratha Rajput concord

Death of Aurangzeb spelled a death warrant to his empire also. The Mughal administration was completely paralysed and the state of the government gave rise to nobility[237] which was a part of the aristocratic government. The imperial politics went to the lowest degree marking the fall of ethical values. Hence this gave chance to the rise of Sayyad Brothers who rose o power as kingmakers. They installed Ferrukhsier on the Royal throne. Another result was the rise of the hopes and aspirations of Rajputs-Sikhs and Jats. He prominent Rajput profited by this situation was Maharaja Ajitsingh who had materimonial relations with Farukhsier hence got the Governership of Gujarat for himself.[238] Ajitsingh become so ambitions that when the Sayyads got alarm against him the former joined them in the scheme to depose the ruler and asked Sayyad Abdula to call his brother Hussain from South.[239]

The Marathas boldened by the opportunity went forward to penetrate in the imperial politics to scoop, whatever they could for themselves and Balaji Vishwanath accompanied Hussain Sayyad in the north with a large Maratha force. He made contacts with Ajit

Singh at Delhi and curbed the revolts in the city. Farrukhsier was deposed Mchammad Shah was imposed by the efforts of the Trio.[240] He got three Sanads in total. The detail of which are already known. In short the got a legal sanction for Shivaji's 'Swarajya' an a financial support for the state, by getting right to collect chauth and Sardeshmukhi.[241]

This 'Bismark of the Maratha State' saved his master in south as the power and prestige of the ruler hesitating to take a bold and forward step made him. The undisputable master of the land.

Rajput Maratha Contract 1719-20

Sahu's ardent desire to get Sanad for Gujarat and Malwa could not be fulfilled and things were not favourable for this Ajit Singh and Sawai Jaisingh approved the terms of the treaty as is evident from the letter sent by Ajitsingh to Chhatrapati Shahu, Balaji Vishwanath in his return march from Delhi to Deccan crossed Jaipur,[242] Sirong, Bhelsa, Sehore, Handia and then went to Deccan. It is sated that he intended to contact the Rajput chiefs to strengthen the Hindu alliance.

The Results

(1) Social and religions upsurgence was desired for hence onward, by the Hindus, as, it arose their hopes and failings for availing religions freedom.

(2) The ascendency of Mohammed Shah to throne opened the gate for religious tolerance and Jaziya was abolished so also the restrictions on the piligrimage centres were also lifted out. Stengthened by the support of Marathas Ajeetsingh took lead in the abolition of these disabilities.[243]

(3) This succees further encouraged the Marathas to put forward their demands to free the holy place of Prayag, Kashi, Gaya Mathura in future.[244]

(4) Through Balaji Vishwanath and Shankraji Malhar Shahu kept close contacts with Ajitsingh to restore the honour of Hindus.

(5) Ajitsingh responded to it. A Sanskrit letter is recorded by Bendre V. S. in his collection which reveals the fact.[245]

(6) Jaisingh of Amber also was contacted by both the diplomates, and the Amber Prince gave Balaji some assurances of friendship. A letter from Jaisingh to Biharidas Pancholi of Mewar supports the fact in which Jaisingh reported of the treaty with Balaji Pandit and informed that he was advised to leave dated Falgun Sudhi 19th, 1775 (1719 A. D.)[246] Though Dr. Satish Chandra does not accept the fact, or the possibility of such a meeting as Jaisingh was at Amber in Sayyad Regime and went to Delhi only in May 1718 A. D. to come back by Feb. 719 A. D.[247] Dr. Sinha opines that such a combination was in vogue and a net ground for Bajirao's friendship with Jaisingh was prepared.[248] In view of the facts it can be asserted that Balaji might have contacted the Hindu Chiefs but the duration of the stay and instability of imperial politics might not have allowed him to act liesurely as he had the ladies of Royal family, viz., Shahu's mother with him who were released only in 1719 and their with him who were released only in 1719 and their safety was the first priority. He also the execution of the terms. But still of course Jaisingh and Jodhpur rulers exchanged gifts and, presents were sent to Maratha Raja. Maratha in return distributed gifted amounting to Rs. 6,750.[249]

All this is also a fact that the Delhi visit brought a broader social and mental outlook which was reflected in the life and style of Bajirao and his commanders.

The success of Balaji Vishwanath cannot be minimised in political field also as he steered the wheels of the Maratha state out of chaos and confusion not only in Maharashtra but out of the political storm in Imperial politics also, where he got the best, out of it for his state, and gave a recognition to Shahu's rights order his state. Hence, he is truely called the 'Second founder of Maratha State for which he carved a policy also—A policy of making alliances with the Rajputs[250] and paved a way for penetrating the

Maratha influence in the North Balaji was successful. But the success of Sayyads and Ajitsingh prepare the ground for their fall Sayyad Hussain 13th Nov. 1720 and Ajitsingh was removed from Governership of Gujarat and was assassinated on the instigation of the emperor Mohammadshah.[251]

Maratha in Gujarat and the end of Rajput Influence

Gujarat was another spring board like Malwa. A land where from the Maratha could enter Rajasthan and cold go further. Gujarat is connected closely with Rajasthan by Marwar Desert and Mount Abu and by Aravali from North-East to Mewar. In the east is marked by the forest land and plateau of Malwa providing direct route in the lan through Zabua and Amzera entering Dhar. According to the arrangements of Shahu Gujarat and Baglan was given to Dabhade the Senapati, Behar, Bengal and Orissa to Senasaheb Subah Bhosle and Khandesh to the Pant Pradhan as sphere of influence and collection of 'Khandani'. Even before Dabhade could spread his influence, Marathas had entered the areas in the times of Shivaji, Sambhaji and during war of Independence.[252]

In 1716 A. D. Dabhade after getting a setback in Malwa soon improved his position in Gujarat and built forts from Burhapur to Surat and got the post of 'Senapati'. Many times he defeated Mughal forces also.[253]

Rathod-Maratha Clash of Interest in Gujarat

Ajitsingh was deprived of his Governorship of Gujarat before his death. After the death of Ajitsingh a war of succession was fought between his sons and his son Abhaysingh was accepted unanimously as the successor by the emperor, Sawai Jaisingh ruler of Jaipur and Maharana Sangram Singh of Udaipur and other chiefs of Rajasthan[254] for Abhaysingh was the eldest of the late rulers sons. Nagor was given to his second son Bakhtsingh and two other's Anandsingh and Raisingh went to Gujarat.

The Gujaorat area joining the brothers of Marwar always attracted the Rathore rulers. As Ajitsingh maintained the view that 'the borders of Marwar extend up to Gujarat'. In between the

Mughal governors appointed in Gujarat could not do much and the representatives of Dabhade-Kanthaji Kadam Bande and Pilaji Gaikwad revaged the territory. By 1723 A. D. the Marathas had a firm footing in that area.[255] In between the condition of Gujarat created problems for the emperor and he appointed Surbuland Khan as Governor of Gujarat in 1724 A. D. But, the previous governor Nijam Asaf Jah I who revolted against the imperial authority signed a pact with Kanthaji Kadam Bandey giving him the right to collect Chauth.

The Maratha Success in Malwa an Gujarat-Shahu's Mission to Udaipur and the Rajput Reaction

The Marathas were collecting the Chauth but Shahu wanted the support of the Rajput rulers to end the matter be collected with peaceful talks so that the tribute might be collected regularly. He sent Gopal Pant and Appaji Pant to Udaipur in 1724 A. D. nd another mission of Prabhu Jadurai followed the previous one and Maharana through Sawai Jaisingh recommended the mater to Delhi. He proposed to grant a Jagir wort Rs. 10 lakh in each province to Shahu and like-wise the decision was reported to the agents of Shahu. It was also suggested that if Raja Shahu[256] would agree to present him self in the court his rights be confirmed.

Also, the proposal was sent to Delhi requesting the emperor to agree the proposals in the interest of the empire. In fact the preservation of their own states was their main interest of the Rajputs.

On the other hand the gravity of the situation made the Maharana uneasy who repeatedly made correspondence with Sawai Jaisingh to find a solution and likewise Rajahs of Bundi, Kota, and Jodhpur were contacted asking them to support the Rajput cause against the Marathas.[257]

Jaisingh's Agent at Satara

After the talks the agents from Shau had to leave for Gujarat to sign the terms. Henee, when he left with him was deputed Shobha Ram as the agent by Maharana's order. The Rajput leaders putforth

certain conditions to be ractified by Shahu. viz, (1) They would recommend the emperor to grant him Jagir in the two provinces yielding 20 lakhs on the condition of his presenting himself in Mughal court in person.[258]

But even before this could be accepted a formidable force was sent from South and the Rajputs were left dumb founded by the success of the Peshwa armies against Nizam Palkhed in 1727 A. D. and at Amzera in 1728. A. D. against Daya Bahadur and Girdhar Bahadur the Staunch supporters of the empire.

Under the circumstances the Rajputs had to re-evaluate their policy against a foe equally skillful in the art of war.

Abhaysigh's problems in Gujarat, Maraha power strengthened their attack on Jalor. I have already discussed the Maratha success in Gujarat where the Mughal Subedar an the brothers of Abhaysingh were the source of trouble for the Marwar ruler when hard pressed by Jaisingh and the Maharana. The Marathas but the conflict between Rathores and the Mewad and Amer Dynasties made it impossible to keep the.force in Gujarat. He was threatened by his own people (his brother Raisigh) the Maharana and Sawai Jaisingh and was compel to proceed to Gujarat, to all. A pact was signed between Abhaysingh and Maharana Sangramsingh by which (1) He agreed to help the Maharana against the Maratha attack in Mewar on the condition that the Maharana was supposed to arrange of the murder of Anandsingh and Raisingh, the brothers of Marwar ruler. due to these intricacies of politics, plots and intrigues Anandsingh had to sign a pact with the Marathas to allow Kanthaji Kadam and Pilai to attack Marwar ia Jalor. The Maratha commanders like Devaji Somvanshi and the other two, Kadam Bandey and Gaikwad collected dues from the territory under Dabhade, whereas Udaji Pawar led a force of Peshwa in the province. Thus the Chauth of Gujarath was shared by the agents of both the officers of Shahu.

Abhay Singh had no alternative accept to save his state from Maratha attack by paying them tribute.[259]

So also Sarbuland Khan had to concede their claim for Chauth and Sardeshmukhi by 1726 May[260] in Gujarat.

By 1729 A. D. the Maratha were so powerful in Gujarat that the Commanders of Bajirao demanded share from Gujarat for themselves. A letter of Chimaji Appa to Bajirao stated the demands made by Udaji who asked for control over Surat and a share of 1 lakhs 25000 from gujarat tribute. So also, the annual share at the rate 35%.[261]

Surbuland was criticised very much for his inactiveness and was replaced by Abhaysingh of Marwar,[262] He attacked Ahmedabad in 1730 A. D. and established his control over it.[263]

Ahamedabad Pact: Nizam. Dabhade Peshwa Abhaysingh Clash

Dabhade had his supreme control over Gujarat hence to retain his power he joined hands with Nizam, Peshwa's opponent in Malwa and Deccan astonishinghly Mughal emperor asked Abhaysingh to support imperial case by helping Nizam. To avoid the clash Abhaysingh contacted Bajirao through Bhandari Bijaysingh who met him on 23 Jan. 1731.[264] A pact was signed by which:

(i) Abhaysigh was asked to support Peshwa in the work of expeling Kanthaji Kadam and Pilaji Gaikwad from Gujarat

(ii) He promised to pay Rs. 13 lakh to Peshwa as a Chauth:

(iii) It was decided that Baroda would be ceded to Abhaysingh after it was conquered and the later promised to support Bajirao with Rathor and Mughal troops.

Pilaji and Kanthaji sill continued their activities.

The Defeat of Dabhai

The rivalary between Peshwa and Senapati Dabhade reached to the extent of a rupture which finally took place at Dabhai for, Dabhade thought Gujarat to be his area of iufluence. He even supported Abhaysingh's rebel brothers. But he died in 1729. Khanderao Dabhade was succeeded by Trimbakrao on 8th Jan 1730. He followed the same path of anti-Peshwa move. As per the pact Bajirao (to take Baroda) marched towards it where he was faced by

Trimbakrao Dabhade who was killed in the encounter 40 miles away from it at Dabhai,[265] even before he could get any help from his allies Niam or Mohammad Khan Bangash. This war had far reaching consequences.

Peshwa's Power Established in Gujarat

Now Peshwa was the supreme power in Gujarat and Kadam Bandey and Gaikwad were restored in Gujarat as Peshwa's agents. In between Nizam exposed an Imperial conspiracy plotted agents Bajirao's life in which Abhaysingh was one of the conspirators.[266] His presence at Satara was badly heeded hence he broke off relations with Abhaysingh, who was accused of he murder of Pilaji Gaikwad also in June-July 1731.[267] Here one thing in worth noted that the brave Rathods had occasionally reduced themselves to commit crimes of lowest order. The Marathas could be proud of the fact that rarely one or two instances in their history of 18th and 19th century could be cited. Otherwise in general they never acted with this meanest motive. The Marwar rulers were specially known in 18th century for such crimes.

Dabhai-Affecting Maratha-Marwar Concord

in 1732 A. D. Marathas under Holkar and Shinde took Umrath, Champaner and Pawagarh. Two letter, one of 4 March 1732, written by Mahant Garibpuri and another dated 16th March 1732 narrate the fact. It also states that Umabai Dabhade the mother of the fallen 'Senapati' Gaikwad and Bandey were at Ahmedabad.[268] thus the reachery of Marwar ruler unheard of the Rajput clan was a permanent blot on the Rathods which strained the Maratha-Marwar relations. The Marathas compelled Abhaysingh to pay off the tribute. Abhay Singh left Gujarat in the hands of his brother and rushed back to his state. As such Sahu also was displeased with the Marwar rulers. For, as early as in 1729 when the Marathas attacked Marwar under Kadam, Shinde, Holkar and Anandrao Pawar be expressed his deep satisfaction over the success and suggested that his occurrence would please Sawai Jaisingh also for it meant the indirect rebuff to his enemy.[269]

Maratha Penetration in the Rajasthan

We have already seen in the last pages that the Maratha encountered successful attack on Malwa. During heir in roads they occasionally crossed the borders and entered Rajashthan from various routes. One such route was through Dungarpur-Banaswada and the another one from Bundi-Kota. We have in record that Shinde and Holkar entered these states by 1726 A. D. when they could no get anything.[270] They attacked Mewar territories also. Maharana Sangaramsingh already expressed his deep concern over it and he wrote letters to Mayaram, his agent at Delhi to impress upon the emperor to find some solution of the Maratha attacks.[271] But the Marathas entered Mewar territories by 1728 A. D. Bajirao wrote to Rawal of Dungarpur and ruler of Banswada to pay Khiraj to Udaji and Malharrao Holkar[272] and even issued them Sanads to do so. The dashing success of Maratha in Malwa, Mewar, Gujarat and against Bungash in Bundelkhand made the matter to the extent that on 9th Dec. 1729. Sangramsingh wrote to jaisingh to take the matter seriously.[274]

Marathas and Jaisingh

Throughout the Maratha correspondence we note hat Jaisingh was taken by the Marathas as their friend. In general the views and policy of the Rajput rulers show that the religion had not been the point of their consideration but Jaisingh's policy was based on sound politics and practical difficulties.

(1) He thought that the Marathas could be appeased by paying them money and thus he could control the Subah of Malwa.

(2) Maratha and specially Shahu respected Jaisingh nd Maharana as is evident from the fact that after jaisingh was sent to Malwa, Shahu instructed his agents that if the later insists for the fort of Mandu to be evacuated at should be. In Marwar siege also it was specially instructed that the territories of Sawaiji ought to be spared. The letters of Maratha envoys Dado Bhimsen

and Mahadeo Bhatt Hingne also sound in the same way To Maharana also Chimaji sent elephant as a present and mark of Joy after Amzera After battle of Amzhera[276] Jaisingh came to know that instead of fighting battles with the Marathas it would be better to find some diplomatic solution and offered to cede a Jagir to Fateh Singh Bhosle in promise to stop their activities in Malwa.[277]

Reasons—Why the Mssions Failed?

One thing which might have influenced the Maratha Rajput relations was the nature of Shahu-Peshwa relations. Peshwa who was young, energetic and ambitions carved out his own policy. Shahu could not support him openly for many reasons:

(1) His bringing up in Mughal court and a sense of ethical values restricted him from taking any drastic step against the empire.

(2) Peshwa's youth and the apposition of the other nobles needed precuation.

(3) Shahu did not openly agreed for or finally though over the steps to be taken with regards to Malwa, specially when after the speed success of Bajirao in Malwa the matter of the granting of the Saranjam (of Malwa and Gujarat) to Peshwa was referred to him he kept quiet. Also she reporters of Peshwa's moves were not regularly sent to him and he felt the pinch of it. We get a glimpse of their drift in the collections of letters in the Peshwa Dafter selections—

तुम्हास हुजूर यावयास दाहापाच आज्ञापवे सादार केली परंतु यावयाचा विचार न केलात ज्या ज्या युक्त्सि त्याहावा त्यात्या लिहिल्या असता येकाही पत्राचे उतर लेहून आल नाही है स्वामीस अपूर्व दिसाने आले।

The letter is dated 1730 A. D. again in another letter Purandare wrote to Bajirao—

सराउष राजश्रीच्या चितात आले आहे कि स्वामीच्या चितात उत्तरेकडील मर मराला आहे तो मनसुबा तुम्ही करालच व फौज जातात

याणी मोगलांची हुद (?) धेतल्या भुले हावभरी होतील आणि केवल दिलीसी ढेह लविलवी म्हणजे कोणे वेलेस नाही कोणे वेलेस तरी अरीस्ट येईल, स्वामी नका म्हणावे तरी फोजेस पोट भरावयास जागा नाही या मुले आपणही आईकणार नाहीं।

It was suggested even that he could choose south for this purpose. It shows Shahu did not want an aggressive policy to be adopted, There were instances when he enquired about the whereabouts of Peshwa. If and when he would get such letters he would not hesitate to express his satisfaction.[278]

राजश्री स्वामीस पत्र मासिदानी, प्रविष्ट केले। राजश्री स्वामीनी आक्षरशाहा वाचून पाहिले, स्वामीनी आशीर्वाद पत्र पाठबिले त्या प्रांतीचे वर्तमान सविस्तर लिहिले त्यावरुन बहुत समाधान भाले।

These suggest that Shahu as a rular did not want a clash but equally important fact. All these letters suggest that though the Rajput rulers were deputing their agents and missions to Satara they were in no way affective or successful[279] as the policy carved by Bajirao I was an independent policy. Shahu had but to give his consent for (1) He needed funds and the arm and mind of Bajirao also. Shahu like Fredrick William I of Germany who understood the value of Bismarck's work (in future history of Germany) could say 'Maratha State needed Bajirao I more than himself'.

Under the circumstances the Maratha storm was sweeping the land of Malwa and the northern territories including Rajasthan.

Jaisingh-Sangramsingh coucord for the defence of Rajashan

A plan was framed by Jaisingh and Maharana in anticipation of Jaisingh appointment of Malwa and by March 1732 A. D. the Marathas entered Banswada, Dungarpur under Holkar and Shinde. Bajirao deputed Shivaji Shankar to settle the terms with the rulers on July 1732.[280] Though Chimaji new that he would have a clash with Sawaiji in Malwa.[281] Sawai Jaisingh tried to create dissentions and contacted Udaji Pawar the best possible ally to come to his side. For, by 1732 the division of Malwa was made by the Peshwa and Udaji Pawar was deprived of his right for due reasons. On the other hand Malharji got control over Narayangarh (Buddha), Dungarpur 1/4 Khairabad, Bakani, Kothade, Patan, Pawars of Dewas and Anandrao also shared due from Khairabad and Bakani and all the three with

Peshwa appointed their Kamavisdars to collect the dues, also offices like Phadnis, Majumdars were appointed to assist them[282] in the said areas.

The War of Mandsaur

Jaisingh tried for the last to oppose Marathas on the battlefield with Vazir Khandauran and Marathas defeated him near Mandsaur, Holkar and Shinde ravaged[283] Rampura and collected Rs. 75,000 or tribute and left for Kota and Bundi. Jaisingh to save his capital left for Jainagar and engaged himself in adorning his capital and constructing observatories. We can infer that Jaisingh finally aware of the downfall of the empire cared least for the province.

Results of Mandsaur Battle on Rajasthan Politics

The Hurda Conference

(1) Shinde and Holkar emboldened with the success renued their attack in the Rajasthan territory.

(2) Kota and Bundi were made the next target by December 1733 A. D. by Holkar and Shinde.

Bundi Affair the First Political Interference

The Hada Rajputs of Bundi came into contact with Marathas quite earlier. But, the political rivalary of the State of Jaipur and Jodhpur courts coaxed them into Maratha system of alliances for the proximate of Rajputana to Malwa and the dislocation of clannish sovereignty in the body politic of Rajputana suited the expansionist designs of Marathas. The close contested rivalary for the throne of Bunddi in 1734 was the first of the series.[285] Sir Jadunath Sarkar also held the same view. He termed the Bundi affair as the first Maratha penetration into Rajputana.[286] But it may be argued that Maratha penetration in Malwa started in 1723-24 and even Bundi and Kota were ravaged in 1726 A. D. Buddha was given to Holkar in 1727. Marwar in 1727 was discussed in the last pages. Hence, it may be called the first political interference in the internal affairs of Rajput State.

In May, 1730 Sawai Jaisingh who wanted to act as arbitrator in Rajputana replaced the ruler Budhasingh by his son-in-law Dalel Singh. The Kachchwaha queen of Budhasingh invited Malharrao Holkar to help her for payment of Rs. 6 lakh. Even his elder brother Pratapsingh Hada visited South. The letter in S. P. D. states[287]—

प्रताप सिंगास भेटीस आणाके

confirming the fact. Crossing Barwaha Holkar and Shinde proceeded to Bundi on 18th April and took the fort Khachchwaha queen put 'Rakhi' on to Malharrao's wrist and the ruler was restored in Bundi.[283] It is stated that Dalel Singh regained power after Malharrao left.

The Maratha interference resented

The Hurda Conference: Efforts to Nulify Maratha influence

Death of Maharana Sangramsingh[289] was another blow to Rajput unity. For, with his death commenced Maharatta ascendency.[290] His eldest son Jagat Singh succeeded him. The old ties were renewed, because the Maratha interference alarmed the Rajputs. Maharana's policy of appeasing Marathas cost him dear. He invited Abhaysingh of Marwar, Bakhta Singh of Nagore, Durajansal Handa of Kota and all joined at Hurda town on the Ajmer-Mewar borders to commence a plan for a joint action against the foe.[291] Rulers of Kishangarh and Bikaner also joined. They all decided to oppose the enemy at Rampura through a joint action.

The Defeat of Rajput

The Vazir Kamruddin and Khan Dauran also supported their efforts. The Rajputs assembled and the army numbering to 150,000 marched towards Rampura where they had to face Holkar and Shinde[292] who seiged Khan Dauran, entered Jaipur territory and on 28 Feb. 1835 pillaged Sambher. Looking to the safety of Jaipur Jaisingh left the camp and tried to mediate between Marathas and emperor. The Jodhpur Khyat described the war.[293]

पुनासु दिखणी री फोज रो उली तरफ कूच हुवो तिण पातसाह बाईसी देनेधणी फोज सुबरखसी नवाब खान दौरानु विदा किये ने महाराज

अमैसिंहजी ने जैसिंहजी ने कोटा रा राव दुरजनसालजी वगैर तमाम हिन्दुवां ने खानदोश सामल लेण रा फरमाण आया राजावारा 20,0000 दोय सु फोज राडेरा शुआ से दिखणीया री फोज एक लाख एक आसरे थी नवाब ने कहायो राड कीजे सो हमार बतल कर दे सा ने सवाई जैसिंहजी आ बात चाई नहीं सो दिखणीयां ने केवायों के पगमांड झगड़ा किजो मती न मुलक मारो, तेरे मुहाणी ने छोडी दिखाणीयांभोज आयमारी

Thus tine plan failed. Maratha papers also deal with the event. The letter in March, April, August and Oct. 1735 A. D. narrate the details of the anti Maratha movements and also point out at the attempts of Jaisingh to mediate.

The policy of Jaisingh support that he wanted peace with the Maratha so that he could atleast save his possessions. The failure of earlier attempts prove that his was a wise policy based on practical politics. He cannot be accused for either treachery or inactiveness but. Tod held the view that Hurda attempt failed because their internal dissentions incapacitated them to resist Maratha in-roads.[294] Khaudauan and Jaisingh tried to join hands with Holkar and Shinde[295] and they could get 22 lakhs as Chauth of Malwa when Shahu was informed about the incident he kept quiet. The letter of Peshwa's agent reads[296]

यावर राजश्री स्वामी कांहीच बोलिके नाहीत।

It also exposed the Rana's real motives against Marathas and the weakness of Rajput diplomacy. Now Peshwa could command the respect paid to a Coonquerer. His mother Radhabai's piligrimage to the North also was of much importance in this connection. When the visited Rajasthan everyone competed to show their hospitality to the mother of the 'great warrior'. It was a welcome to the power and prestige of the energetic general Bajirao I shown by the chiefs of Rajputana, whose ancestors dared to oppose the mighty emperor, the Akbar in past centuries.

This also mind a social and cultural contact between the two races possible.

In between. Jaisingh tried to mediate between the two parties. A letter of Dec. 1735 of Ramchandra Bava to Hingne[297] support our view:

श्रीमंत राजश्री सवाईश्रीस विनति करणे ली तुमच आज्ञोप्रतो रसायेन उत्तम उतरले आहे त्याचे सार्थक हेच की राजा मलजीस सत्वर खाना कर?

Jaisingh through Kriparam and Peshwa's agent Mahadeo Bhatt proposed for 20 lakhs as subsidy and a Jagir on the territory of Dost-Mohammad, yielding 41 lakhs[298] which he readily accept and started for North with his trusted men Holkar, Shinde and Pawars Anandrao. It was a great stroke of diplomacy he wanted to cast on the Rajput politics.

Bajirzo's Visit to Rajasthan

He entered the area through Lunawara Gujarat and Dungarpur He narrated his travel and intention to go to Mewar to his mother wishing her a safe return.[299]

Meeting with Rana of Mewar

A vessel under Maharana Rawal of Dungarpur did not obstruct his passing through the State and offered a tribute of Rs. 3 lakh.[300] Peshwa's agent at Mewar was already looking to his interest but he also contacted to the Mewar Diwan Biharidas Pancholi through a letter in Sanskrit on January 1736 A. D.[301]

Bajirao was entertained by the Rana and he visited the Jag Mandir Palace which is noted in Marathi records also.[302] It was decided that a fixed sum, or in instalment for the period of 10 years. was to increase proportionately.[303] Rich gifts were exchanged and 'Mejamni' (hospitality charges) of one lakh were paid by Mewar. The small State till now agreed to pay the tribute the Marathas. Bajirao gets the credit of humbling a state of Mewar's stature to a state of tributory.

The weakness of the politics of Rajasthan and Imperial court was exposed thus.

Visit to Jaisingh

The second visit was to Jaisingh. Some small chiefs accompanied Bajirao up to Ajmer.[304]

By 5th April 1736 Bajirao was at Bhambola.[305] He had his talks on 14th March itself. Baji Bhivrao from Sanganer wrote to Peshwa that he must have finished his talks with Sawaji and warned Bajirao that if "he was planning to go to Delhi he should be cautious. For he cannot conquer the world in a day.[306] Bajirao put a long list of his proposals and Jaisingh promised to get them ractified but he warned Bajirao against an assault on Delhi. Moreovet Bajirao deputed his force to Marwar and himself went back to Poona via Nathdwara and Gujarat. Shahpura was attacked and looted Shinde and Holkar. Dr. Raghubir Singh holds the view that it was perhaps on his route back to his place that the ruler of Shahpura. Ummedsingh Sisodia met Bajirao. Ummedsingh was well acquainted with Shine and Holkar as in their letter of 23.4.1734. They mentioned him and reported that he was in march against them.[308]

Marwar Attacked

Surrender of Medta. It is argued that Jaisingh instigated Bajirao to attack Marwar. The enemity between the two houses was wellknown. As Jaisingh was leaning towards Marathas Abhaysingh joined with the Mughal officers to oppose them.[309] Shahpura was ravaged and Malharrao and Ranaji marched towards Medta where Pratapsingh of Bundi joined them. Ummedsingh of Shahpura was at Medta. They tried to contact Vijaysingh Bhandari[310] but Abhaysingh ordered his minister to give the battle, Jodhpur Kajya Ki Khyat give the details of the battle and Skrimishes that took place but in the last the writer perhaps to earn the favours wrote that the Marwar ruler was victorious and the Marathas begged for peace.[311]

जैसिगजी दिखणीया ने कैवायो केथे मारवाड उपर आवे ज्यु अभैसिंगजी दिली सुजोधपुर देखने उरा आवौ जिणा उपर सिंधया राणुजी ने मलार हुलकर गुजरात सु आया फोज हजार पचास थी सौजत बिगाड फौज सारी मेडते गई सो कितराक तुंगा जोधपुर आया जाधपुर में चांपावत सगत सिंह आइदो नोत रो हठ रोने चापावत महासिंह, भगवानदास पाहेकरण सने प्रोहित जगु वगेरे साथ धणो थो मेडते मालकोट भंडारी बिजैराज भंडारी मनरूप सजियो सोमनरूपतो गेडते हाकीम था इजने महाराठे परबतसिंह वगैरे प्रगना सात रो लोक वे उमरावनेन सामल हू वो

सेरसिंह सिरदारसिंहोत वगैरे माधोदासोत मेडतिया ने चांदावत इसरोत मोहणदासोत केसौदासोत मेडतिया ने उदावत उदेसिंह प्रतापसिंहोत देवली रा अे सारा सामल हुआ ने साहपुरारा राजा उमेदसिंह भारतसिंहोत सिसोदिया रेने महाराज रे हेत थो सु बुलाया था सो 4000 सु आया मेडते* चारो तरफ मोरचा लगाया था ने हसर सुणो कर दियो थो महाराज रो दिल्ली से हुक्म आयो कि दाम एक १ दिखणियां नु दीजो मती सिर सिरदार ७०० सो पाला तरवारां म्यान मारले मिसरिया झगडो भारी कीयो मालकोट उपर सु पिण तोपखानो आछो छुट्यो दिखणियां में दिखणी दोयतीन सरदार पालकी नसीन काम आया@ तेरे दिखणीया रो फुटकर के हमे मैल छै राड माफ करो। तेरे राड पैकूब करी दिखणीया रो फुटकर लोग घणो काम आयो महाराज री फौज में चैन चार रहयो महाराज री फतह हुई*।

as a matter of fact, Holkar and Shinde were victorious and Bhandari had to agree to pay them tribute.[312] Nagor was their next target and it had to also to surrender. The Marathas army joined Bajirao at Ajmer on his return march to Deccan. Baji Bhivrao suggested Peshwa that unless until the Vizir group including Kamruddin. Sadat Khan Rashanuddula and Sadat were not crushed nothing favourable could be expected.[313] Hence, Peshwa marched towards north and sectioned at Ahirwada and deputed Baburao Malhar (Barwe) to Delhi to get the terms at Bhambola ractified.[314] It may be argued that up to 1736 Marathas were a supreme power in Rajasthan and nearly all the small or big powers there had to agree to pay them tribute (Khandani). As we known that 1736 talks did not succeed.

Maratha-Jaisingh-Bundela Plan—1739 A. D.

For Nadirshah's attack Dhondo Govind a Statesman of Delhi sent reports to Bajirao about Nadirshah. For whom he wrote a very interesting line that 'Nadirshah is no God that he could destroy the earth.' He suggested for a union of Bajirao-Jaisingh-Bundela Chiefs to face the situation boldly.[315] Unfortunately Bajirao's and, ended an important epoch of Maratha History and Emperial politics.

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* S.P.D. No. XIV No. 14.

@ Ibid.

जाधव आणि धुमाल पडले।

* The statement is misguiding.

Consequences of Rajput-Maraha Policy up to 1740

One has to agree that though a conqueror solider and general Bajirao I possessed a decency rarely found in a man of his qualities. Hence, though he was feared, yet was respected in Rajashan. So in his times Marathas did not earn the title of 'free booters or horders'. For, he could control the ambitious commanders Holkar and Shinde by his tact, power and strength. His tenure of office opened the gates for Rajput-Maratha social and cultural contacts. Arists, Painters, Architects from Jaipur were invited at Maratha courts. The wall paintings of 'Shaniwarwada' the palace of Bajirao I painted by the brush of Bhojraj a Jaipur artist were the best example of the still and these contracts Buildings, palaces, temples were constructed at various places through exchange of ideas. Priests like Ratnakar Panundrik, Sudhakar and his nephew Vrajanath Bhatt Dixit were respected at Jaipur court.[316] The members of this family still leave at Jaipur[317] Sawai Jaisingh had contacts with Brahmendra Swamy of Dhavdasi, the most popular spiritual guide of the Marathas in those days.[318] So also, Bajirao had contacts with the Mahant of Jhagir Math of Jainaga. The exchange of gifts by each other, at time of meetings.[319] The deputation of Kesarisingh by the Maharana and Jaisingh to the marriage of Satwaji Jadhaw's son[320] and the exchange of a present then made by the members of the host family suggest that a close cultural constact was in vague in spite of their political offs and on.

Marathas in Rajasthan from 1740-61

Maratha Position in the North. By 1741 Marathas had become the rulers de Jure in Malwa. Hence to keep Rajasthan in tight control was their logical step.

Secondly, they were free from Malwa politics. The years, Balaji Bajirao took the charge of Peshwaship[321] to the battle of Panipat was the period of Maratha expansion in the north and interference in Rajasthan politics. They took part in the war of succession of nearly all the important states of this land. By this time their Kamavisdars were appointed to collect tribute[322] with a group

of officers with them. Such state had Maratha agents as envoys and thus Marathas influence spread over the whole of the Rajasthan which was still strengthened in the period under review when they become the arbitrators of the fate of Rajputs. Another important features of the period was that as the Maratha principalities were established in Malwa and though the provincial rulers Holkar, Shinde and Pawars were technically under Peshwa. yet, their own interest to strengthen their power in the area of influence and to get sanction for those areas through 'Saranjam' grant from the Peshwa Durbar made them more and more ambitious. These areas of their struggle for power were the week and quarreling states of Rajasthan. The struggle took place in various states first among them being Jaipur.

Rajput Reaction to the Maratha Success in Malwa

Though Jaisingh mediated in the grant of sub-Subedar's Sanand for Malwa to the Peshwa. But in heir hearts of heart the Rajputs were worried about this spread of Maratha power. The death of Bajirao I might have raised their hopes. On their annual meet at Nathdwara a religious function organized by the Malharrao of Kota it was decided to oust the Marathas from Malwa.

All the big powers of Rajasthan., viz., Amer, Mewar, Marwar and Kota were to unite and decided to march on Mandsaur. They even refused to pay tribute to the Kamavisders. They even thought of inviting Bundela Chiefs to their side but nothing resulted out.[323]

War of Succession in Jaipur—The Role of Maratha

Unfortunately Sawai Jaisingh the towering personality of the 18th Century Rajasthan passed away on 3rd Oct. 1743, and his eldest son Ishwarsingh succeeded him. He was duly recognized by the Maratha Government as the ruler of Jaipur.[324]

Another party under Rana Jagatisingh Maharao Durjansal Kota and, Ummedsingh of Shahpur supported Madhav Singh the son of Jaisingh from the Mewar princes. Iswarsingh took the help of Marathas.[325]

The Battle of Rajmahal

A force under Bharatsingh Sisodia was sent accompanied by Durjansal Hada and Ummedsingh of Shahpura but the Maharana could not give his active support though Ummed Singh of Shahpura tried to mediate.[326]

Ishwarsingh sent his mission to Poona and Jayappa Shinde was asked to support.[327] The allied forces under Mewar's leadership were sent back by Shinde! Tod puts the blame on Ranas cowardice.[328] Hadas of Kota and Bunoi also, were persued by Ishwarsingh.

The Maharana now sought for the help of Holkar. The most experienced Commanders among the Maratha with the assistance of Ramchandra Bava talks were opened.

Maharana did not agree with their proposals and after Holkar ravaged Tanda left for Bundelkhand and joined Jayappa Shinde at Jaipur. In between Maharana sent his envoy to Poona and through him promised to pay 15 lakhs a Jaipur worth Rs. 24 lakh to Madhosingh[329] Holkar supported the cause, and finally sent his son Khanderao with a force, even though Shirde and Ramchandra Bawa opposed it. Maharana wanted that (1) Tonk, Toda, Malpura and Mewai to be given to Madhosingh, (2) Bundi he given back to Hadas. Under Bharatsingh Sisodia the war party left Ishwarsingh also sent two forces. The Maharana who was very slow in his moves,[330] hence lost the cause for the could not reach the battlefield, Khanderao Holkar did not take active part and the battle was lost. The Maharana did not carry his sword even and called it as a woman's weapon a remarks, the degrading severity of which made a lasting impression in the decline of Mewar.[331] This exposed the open dissentions of Maratha came also. Poona Durbar was not aware of the actual state of things, whereas amongst Shinde and holkar the latter played a deceitful role. Peshwa insisted on both of them to act cordially.[332] This gave a very had impression about their moral values, about which Ishwarsingh spoke to the Maratha agent Govind Tamaji at Jaipur.[333] Unfortunately being at distance Peshwa not do much. Yet in 1748 the arranged for an agreement between the brothers at Mewai.

The War of Bagru

The Rana wanted the matters to be settled. Though Ishwarsingh promised to cede territory worth 5 lakhs – viz., Tonk, Toda, Malpura and Barwada. To establish the control Malharrao attacked Jaipur. Parihar, under the orders of Peshwa. The rulers of Bundi and Kota joined but Maharana again wanted to shield himself when Malharrao Holkar again wrote to Ummedsingh Sisodia of Shahpura to ask Rana to join him with quick march at Fagi.[334] Ishwarsingh had Jat Sekhawat, Narabe. Rajawat and Rajkeshav Bai with him. He was defeated and signed the terms.[335] Malharrao was to get 65 lakhs and so he entered Rajasthan again in 1750 A. D. Knowing about Holkar's arrival Ishwarsingh finally committed suicide and as Tod had mentioned a dose of poison gave Madhosingh the Gaddi. Holkar his bride and he Marathas the firm hold upon Rajasthan.[336] Peshwa's policy was not clear and finally a policy of supporting the chiafs and changing sides gave the Marathas a bad name.[337] They gave an impression that each Rajput State now could hire them for money. It saped their reputation as is evident from the fact that even the presence of Holkar at the coronation ceremony of Madhosingh was resented at Jaipur[338] by the People and Marathas numbering some 1500 were slain and 1000 were wounded.[339]

Bundi

At Bundi also the Maratha had their Kamavisdars. The ruler was a tributary to Shinde[340] Kota ruler Durjansal Hada who wanted his own candidate Ummedsingh to be installed was apposing the ruler, Dalel Singh the son in law of Sawai Jaisingh. After Sawaiji Jaisingh's death the question was reopened. Indra Singh was approached who did not support the action. of removing Dalelsingh. Ishwarsingh of Jaipur sent a force with Rajamal and Jayappa Shinde to Kota in 1745[341] for Ummedsingh was troubling the ruler. Jayappa expressed his anger in the words—

बंदीवर उम्मेदसिंग आला त्यागने या प्रांतात दंगा माडिला आहे।

Holkar took the side of Durjansal's candidate and Jayappa of Ishwarsingh's. The letters collected in Gulgule Dafter clearly show

us that due to Shinde's sympathy with Ishwarsingh group. The Kota ruler did not allow the Maratha settlements at Patan and at Indragarh, Khatoli and Sopar also he created disturbances for Shindes,[342] so also he refused to pay them the dues for, up to 1744 A. D. previous dues increased to Rs. 1 lakh 76000. The Kamavisdar of Kota Balaji Gulgule was asked to collect the dues, without committing to any serious quarrel.[343]

The complaints of Bundi ruler against Kota were responded and the Moharao of Kota Durjansal was warned by Shindes,[344] whereas no such disturbance is recorded in the earlier records of Holkarshahi up to—1748 A. D. Hence the action of Jayappa Shinde was a logical step taken against Kota.[345] The Jaipur candidate was to be deposed and Ummedsingh was to be supported by Holkar. Hence the enimity between Holkar and Shinde may be attributed to their relations with the Rajput. In further also in many letters found in Gulgule Dafter the Kamavisdars of both the sides were complaining about each other. The letter collected in Gulgule Dafter suggest that the anger was expressed by Ranoji and Jayappa Finally after Ishwarsingh's defeat at Bagru Ummedsingh was restored to Bundi Gaddi and Dalel Singh was turned out.[346] Presents were exchanged and Bundi becomes a feudatery state and the share was fixed at 35% and Rs. 75000 to the Raja of Salara.

Patan

When Bundi was under Ishwarsingh's control Shinde wanted that Patan, and Karan should also be brought under his control.[347] Other small Parganas like Khairabad. Bakani Piplod were already had Maratha Kamavisdars appointed at each of these Paraganas.[348] By July 1745 Patan was taken under Shindeshahi control as Shinde appointed Balaji Gulgule as Phadnis there[349] but Sir Sarkar and Tod held the view that it was taken by Holkar in 1748.[350] Actually by the division made by Peshwa, Shinde, Holkar, Pawars of Dhar and Dewas had their fixed share at these centres.[351] Originally the share of Bakani, Khairabad was under Pawars of Dhar and Dewas. In general the percentage of share was fixed and renewed as per the division of 1732 A. D.

Shahpura. An unpublished Khyat of Shahpura in the collection of Sitamau, Prince Maharaj Kunwar Dr. Raghubir Singh also gives a clue to the relations of this state with Marathas. The ruler Ummedsingh sided with the Maharaja Jodhapur in Medta Seige. His state was looted by Holkar and Shinde and then he met Bajirao I on his way to Jahajpur Nathdwara[352] and agreed to pay dues perhaps. He then sided with Maharana of Udaipur in Jaipur and Bundi affairs and the letters of Khanderao and Malhar Rao clearly show that he was a friend of Holkars.[351]

Policy with Marwar

By 1736 the Marwar ruler accepted to pay Chauth to the Marathas but as expected and like the other rulers of Rajasthan he did not pay the dues, so also, Marathas had to face troubles in collecting dues from Soyat, Raipur and Dajaran. In between the enemity between Sawai Jaisingh and Abhaysingh of Marwar reached its height. Abhaysingh attacked Bikaner which was helped by Jaisingh and the Maharana[354] and battle was fought at Ganjwara. Sawai Jaisingh lost and he could not install his candidate on the throne of Jodhpur. On the other hand Abhaysingh wanted to finish his quarrel with his brother Bakhta Singh who helped him in the war against Mewar and Jaipur rulers.

(i) But, he was growing powerful for, he was conferred with governorship of Gujarat by Ahmadshah the Mughal emperor who succeeded Mohammadshah,

(ii) Also he got Narnol, Didwana and Sambhar[355] an all this increased the power of Bakhta Singh.

Holker's Help sought for

By this time Holker established himself as a hired supported for the Rajputs and was in Bundi. Hence Abhaysingh sent his agent at Bundi with the mediation of Bundi ruler the contract for Maratha (Holkar's) help was made for the payment of Rs. 10 lakh 11000 per day[356] Shinde was very curious getting the news about the dealings in Holkar's camp[357] for Holkar had sought Abhaysingh's support in the Jaipur war of succession also in future also[358] Holkar had cordial relations with Jodhpur.

Abhaysingh's Death and the Problem of Succession

It was a curious fact that nearly all the important figures of first half of 18th Century passed away in the decade to follow. After Bajirao I Emperor Mohammadsah, Sawai Jaisingh and then Abhaysingh died on 10th June 1949 a Ajmer.

He left a legacy ready to be a prey for his ambitious brother Bakhtasingh. He was confronted with Ramsingh the son of the deceased ruler, who had become very unpopular among the courtiers.[359] Bakhtasingh used the apportunity and look Jodhpur, Ajmer and Merta,[360] and Ramsingh was expelled from Marwar. Ramsingh by changing the traditional enemity with Jaipur and Mewar asked for their support, whereas Bakhtasingh also tried to sought Madhavsingh help.

Maratha help sought for Holkar's policy of aoninterference

Finally Ramsingh sought for the help of Marathas,[361] but Bakhta Singh also sent his agents to Holkar and Shinde Holkar wisely keep aloof but this time Shinde showed his deep concern in the affair. Jayapa Shinde tried to help Ramsingh and sent letters with this effect to the rulers of Kota Sopar and Bundi to assist him[362] but allied force of Shinde and Ramsingh they was defeated as Bakhtasingh suddenly attacked them near Ajmer.

Malharrao could not pay much attention to Marwar problem. For Madhosingh the ruler of Jaipur was his friend and he was siding with Bakhtasingh[363] (2) with Abhaysingh he had cordial relations as he was getting money for 'Lag' 'Sarah' and 'Saranjam.[364] But the relations between Bakhtasingh and Jayaji remained, strained, looking to the possible encrochment of Marathas, on the initiative of Bakhtasingh, Madhosingh and Surajmal Jat met Soneli to think over th measures to expel Marathas beyond Narbade.[365] But Bakhtasingh died on 21st Sept. 1752.[366] In between the condition at North became worse. The Marathas under Raghoba and Shinde and Holkar engaged themselves in the Northern affairs. as the emperor Ahmadshah was facing the troubles with his courtiers.[367] They signed. Treaty with the emperor on the advise of his vazir Safdarjung Raghoba.

Raghoba is Rajasthan and North

The instability in Northern and Imperial politics compelled Peshwa to look to the matters there, of preserve—Maratha possessions in the north-south and Malwa. hence Peshwa's brother Raghoba was stent via Rajasthan with orders to collect arreas of tribute from Jaipur, Bundi. Kota.[368]

When Raghoba was in Rajasthan Ramsingh met him through Jayappa Shinde but he could not stay there for a long and went to Delhi and installed the emperor to the throne. Bakhtasingh was succeeded by Bijaysingh. Here Malharrao Holkar greeted his accession to the throne but Jiyaji Shinde involved himself.

Jayaji's Involvement. He wanted to secure his possessions at Ajmer an when Holkar was defending emperor by fighting with Jat in accordance with th treaty of 1752 the former went to Marwar. He sent a letter to Balaji Yashwant his agent at Kota about his 'Marwar Mohim' and asked him that the rulers of Kota and Bundi also be informed to help him.[369]

Bijaysingh was helped by Bikaner and Kishangarh rules. Shinde got Medta and, helped Kamsingh to win.[370] Bijaysingh finding his position weak thought over to finish the work of the master mind working against him. Hence Jayappa was murdered by Bijaysingh's men. On 24th or 25h July 1755. Jankoji Shinde wrote a letter of Balaji Yashwant on 8th August 1755.[371]

तीर्थ रुपा़स 15 सवाली शुक्रवारी बिजैसिंग ने मारेकप्यास–दक्षणी थाट देऊन (लष्करात) पाठवून दगा केला तेच दिक्शी त्यांच कैलासवास जाहला।

But for certain reasons perhaps because of Maratha power and prestige in the north, of want of Support, the earlier defeat and he siege of Jodhpur by the Marathas, Bijaysigh signed a treaty with Jankoji on February 1756. By which conciliation was brought between Bijaysingh and Ramsingh[372] Madhosingh of Jaipur promised to help then and pay annually 1 lakh and 5000 and he fort of Ajmer was given to them.[373] Thus by the time the Panipat battle was fought Maratha Supremacy in North India, Rajashan, Gujarat and nearly whole of India was established.

The Maratha Policy up to Panipat Reviewed

Marathas are generally accused and in general are criticized for the practice of helping the Rajput Chiefs can against another without care of caution for receiving heavy bribes. In injured the reputation of Marathas and made them detestable to Rajput.

If the Maratha policy is reviewed with impartiality the close study of the events help us to conclude in the following way.

By 1751-52 Marathas were supreme in the North. The protector of the emperor, the kingmakers of Rajput land and rulers of Malwa and Gujarat. Rajasthan being the sphere of interest they could not overlook their interest and it would have been unwise on their part to do so. Secondly if the murder of

(i) Ajisingh by his son Abhaysingh. or

(ii) The deposition of his son Ramsingh by his uncle Bakhta Singh or Ramsingh's cousing brother Bijaysingh,

(iii) Installation of Dalelsingh by Jaisingh at Bundi, or

(iv) The Maratha Jagat Singh supporting his nephew Madhosingh against the lawful heir of Sawai Jaisingh Maharaj Ishwarsingh,

(v) The murder of Maratha leaders like Pilaji Gayakwad and Jayappa Shinde at the hands of Rathores. The wholesale massere of Marathas after the death of Ishwarsingh at Jaipur and many other untold and unrecorded murders took place in Rajashan and these activities were point of criticism, how the Marathas only asking for tribute on the basis of their strength and power be criticised? (they rarely engaged themselves in committing political murders).

Many letters can be supplied to prove that they tried to keep good relations with the Rajput. Malharrao Holkar had cordial relations with State of Jaipur, Jodhpur, Kota cordial relations with State of Jaipur, Jodhpur, Kota and Bundi. He used to send Tika as we have seen in the last page. He was 'paged bandha brother of Abhaysingh and a brother to the Bundi Rajmata the mother of Ummedsingh Hada. So also these relations were maintained in

furture also The Shindes had relations with Jats and the rules of Kota that was in spite of the fact that the rulers were not paying ribute properly. The Marathas are criticized by the writers as 'Immoral and Greedy and of deceitful acts of their politics and activities in Rajasthan. These adverse remarks are but natural to a people who wanted to established their suzerainity by curbing the Rajput power, but many examples can be cited of their peaceful, approach, Bajirao I himself tried for it. A examples can be cited for, to prove that the approach of Marathas was to maintain order. A letter written by Malaharji to Sawai Madhosingh on saturday 21st April 1750 asking him to restore Mahant Yadoram of Nimbark Samparadaya to the pith of Salemabad in the north-west of Kishangarh, because he wanted to help the Mahant and end the controversy of his succession.[377] For Holkar's honesty another example is supported by a letter written on Friday March Ist 1754 again by Malharrao to Sawai Madhav Singh from his camp when he was besieging the Jat state on 1754. The letter sates that at the time of the seige of Jaipur against Maharaja Ishwarsingh Malharrao promised Jati Santoshram a Jagir for him on the condition that if according to the letter's professy Madhosingh would be installed on the gaddi within a month. Because his professy proved to be true he should be granted the Jaipur. There are letters to support the view that though the Maratha armies marched at distant places in Rajasthan they did not deliberately committed massacres as their predecessors Muslim were long. There are letters scolding the Kamavisdars troubling the Rayats. A letter of Ranaji asking Balaji Yashwant on September 1745 tells us that the Rajputs also were ravaging their won territory under their apponents, viz.,

रा उमेदसिंग हाडेर (बुंदीकर) याने येऊन बुंदी प्रांत धामधुम केली त्यामुले पाटण व कारपण वगैरेच्या गावांस उपसर्ग लागला गावची तुम्ही तेथवर जाऊन रयतेयी दिल भरी करुन आबादानी करणे मेणे वगेरे (चा) उपद्रव मावास लागतो तो न लागे तेगोष्ट करणे।

In another letter of 3rd Oct. 1745 to Balaji Yashwant runs[376]—

कोटे करानी पटी करुन दिली ते वसुल करितो तर त्यास राजकरणे आण आम्हासी सलुख राखणे परगाणाची आबादानी करणे तर आमचा पैसा करार मप्रो आरचे वारे न येना टाकन द्यावा

Their policy is well understood after the study of heir record preserved in Jaipur and Bikaner State Archives and they all spell a Maratha policy of friendship.[379] A letter of Ahilyabai to Jaipur ruler Sawa Prithvisingh inviting him for the marriage of Khanderao Phanse (her relation?) supports over view.[380] Lastly they expected the money promised by them and sometimes complained that these ruler were playing tricks with them.[381] Secondly Rajputs had a times invited them for help. Many incidence can be cited to prove it. Where as Rajputs promise and signed the pacts of friendship but did not support them whole heartedly in Panipat. Madhosingh got his throne through Maratha help but soon viewed to expel them and again joined with them after Jawahar Singhs' rise still after his death Madhavrao sent 'Tika' a mark of friendship.[381a]

After Math of Panipat

As is known the Marathas were badly defeated at Panipat naturally the Rajputs wanted to use this opportunity. The invasion of Abdalli, which humbled the Marathas and put a stop to their pretensions to universal sovereign left the Rajputs with a hope to expel them from Rajasthan. Madho Singh in his march to Hadauti assauled Ooniaya and thence he proceeded to Lakheri which he took by driving out the crest fallen southerners. The victors proceeded through the heart of Kotah. Malharrao Holkar had encamped in the vicinity and was so crest fallen since the feal days of Panipat that he feared to side with either.[382] After Malharji' death Marathas had to struggle for lost territories and a period of conflict continued. The Rajputs stopped paying the tribute due to the Marathas.

Mahadji and Lalsol

After Panipat Mahadji and Pawars and Holkar tried to improve things. After getting the honour of appointment as Vakil-ul-Mutalik he tried to collect the dues overdue for the emperor and also for Peshwa,[383] again a joint front was opened by the Rajputs the only ruler of Kota under Zalimsingh Zala's influence did not yield. Marathas, still interfered in the Rajputana politics and Peshwa also showed his deep concern over. The Rajput tried to join at Nathdwara but failed. Unforunately enough for the Marathas, the pre-Panipat

situation was created. It was in the name of the weak Mughl emperor hat Mahadji as his Vakil tried to collect his dues and tried to establish his control. Sawai Pratapsingh the then ruler of Jaipur though a weak and pleasure seeking man could inspire the Rajput and asked them not to pay dues. On Mahadji's side Najab Kuli Khan and Shah Nizamuddin were sent but the Rajputs Mughal clash turned into a Rajput-Maratha clash.[384] Mahadji was successful in his early encounters but Julfilar Ali, Mansoor Ali the who commanders left him and prestige finally Naji Kuli Khon left. It was to save his prestige that Mahadji attacked but Marwar-Jaipur rulers took the lend. Mahadji had to face the battle at Tunga near Lalsot on 24th March 1787. He could not fight it decisively and had to retreat to Dig.[385] Though Lalso is considered by most of the exerts on the subject as Mahadji's complete defeat and a death blow to his aspirations Jadunath Sirkar held the view that it was not a 'decisive war for though Shinde had to retreat—

(i) Rajputs couldnot take a single canon of Mahadji,

(ii) Shinde was decieved by Mughal officers,

(iii) Holkar could not come in the time to help,

(iv) His European trained sliders could not get food supplies and it was a retreat of a true soldier and general without taking revenge or loosing the courage in the critical times.[386] Even after 'Lalsot' the opposition was continued by the Rajputs. A letter of Bapuji Anandrao to Ahilyabai written on 2th Nov. 1793 confirms the fact. The story after Lalso is in struggle by Marathas to regain their positions but they lost ground by the rivalries of Daulatrao Shinde and Yashwant Rao Holkar finally putting Rajasthan in the bags of the British. Though Jashwantrao was considered by Rajputs as their friends against the British.[387]

The Results

Political friendships or rivalaries might have made kingdoms and deposed kings but the social and cultural contact established through political platform helped to weave net for a Rajput-Maratha Cultural blending.

Local Chiefs and the Marathas

Even in the Muslim period the local Chiefs had a share in the administration of the Mughal Government. Many Rajput Chiefs settled down here after the Muslim attacks in India.[388]

There were some 'Bhilala' and 'Sondhis' Rajput also a mix raced of Rajputs who had married with the local tribes. They were mostly in South and Central Malwas. Some Rajput chiefs were the descendants of Rajputs in Rajasthan who get Jagirs in Malwa of their services rendered to Mughal empire. These Rajputs established their petty kingdoms in Malwa,[389] viz., many Rathods the descendants of Maldeo of Jodhpur had their states.

(1) *Amzera* was the seat of eldest son of Maldeo named Ramsingh, after the battle of Amzera it surrendered to Marathas and they were tributories to Shindes.

(2) *Zabua.* State was established by fifth son of Maldeo The state surrendered to Marathas in the times of Anupsingh.[390]

(3) *Ratlam.* Third son of Maldeo named Udaisingh who submitted before Akbar got Jodhpur for himself.[391] His son Sursingh got Ratlam where he got a Mansab in the times of Jehangir.[392] His area in turn was given to his son Ratansingh who was the founder of the state. *Sitamau* state was founded by the decendants of Ratansingh.

Piploda was another state of the Rathores. The State of *Sailana* was formed by the descendants of Ratansingh likewise the second state of Ratlam was also formed by the same Rathor dynasty. The State of *Kotadi Pidawa* under Mandsaur Sarkar was another small state.[393] *Makdavan* was funded by Medta ruler Virmadeo's dynasty who were serving the Mughal in Malwa.[394] So, also there were Gujars, a and Khichi's of Raghogarh. The State of Marwar, Barwani and Rampura. The State papers relating to the Jagir also suggest that it was a Rajput state.[395]

The Maratha Policy

Thus when the Marathas attacked Malwa the local chiefs had to submit before them. The Sarkars' under Mughals were—Ujjain,

Raisin, Chanderi, Sarangpur? Mandu, Handia Gagrone, Kodtıpiriyagarh, Mandsaur and Vandurbar. As we have seen these Sarkars has to submit before the Marathas when the division of Malwa was made from 1726 onward and finally in 1732 A. D. after this various Parganas were shared by different Maratha commanders. when the Maratha provincial states were formed the local chiefs used to pay them tribute called Tanka and the one who used to pay it[396] were called 'Tankedar' perhaps they looked to the Marathas as protector of their faith and honour for being Hindus. here were some Afghans and Mughals[397] or Brahmin Jamindar[398] like the Mandloi also where help of the Marathas were among the Mugha officers. Maratha policy with them suggest that they were neither harassed, nor persecuted. A long its of Jagirdars under the Shindes and Halkars in published in the State Gazetters of the various states, thakur V. V. Holkarshahicha Itihas and History Jagirdaran Vol. I, II of the Shinde State which give us the number of these Chiefs termed as Jagirdars and Tankedars.

The Bhilala Rajas of Mandhata (Onkareshwar) the Raja of Brawaha, Barwani, Narisighgarh, Rajgarh under Nemar and Umetwara also submitted before the Marathas by 1732 A. D. These Tankedars fought for the Marathas with heir army and did not take direct contacts with Rajputs of Rajasthan who at times fought with the Marathas. In turn they were honoured, and different status and were treated accordingly. They were allowed to use the ingignias of their staus as accepted and guaranteed by the rulers, for instance the 'Lavajama' (as it was termed) of Thakur Bijesingh of Mauja Datigaon of Jila Amzera was—Nakkara, Chhadi, Chhadi II, Chauri, Chhatri, Aftabgiri, Palki, Miana, Elephant, Horses, Berke Men Maratab—Nashista, Kada and Langar, Sirpench, Najar and Nichhawar and Lakab.[399]

The Chandrawats and Rampura

Rampura was originally under Mewar in 1567 A. D. the ruler Rao Durgbhan or Durgarao submitted before Akbar After the death of Aurangzeb Maharana Sangramsingh got it for himself on 2nd Oct. 1716.[399a] As per the concord of Durgadas Rathore Rampura Kasba and 246 villages were given to Chandravat of Rampura and their

relatives of Kunija Ghasoi on Aug. 1717.[400] In 24th March 1729 the share of Maharana was given to Madhosingh of Amer who in turn give it or Malharrao Holkar for his help in the war of succession of Jaipur for the payment of the expenses army.[401] Probably in the last months of 1759 A. D. Thus Rampura and Bhanpura was brought under Holkars.

The Holkar Policy

As per the contract made with Rampura the Holkars gave them the seat of Rampura with some villages and the relatives of the ruling family also were given some villages. They were received honour and were respected accordingly. Perhaps a wise policy of Malharrao to appease them like the one Akbar followed with Rajputs.

As per the arrangements Laxmansingh Chandravat got[401a] the following areas:

13400 Taluke Amad and Haweli villages (including Kasba Rampura)	7
12000 Taluka Datoli villages	9
16000 Taluka Garoth villages	4
15000 Taluka Pathar villages	10
	30

Hathesingh Chandravat got Bhatkedi.[402]

Panipat and Rampura

Like the other states in Rajasthan Chandravat Laxman Singh also revolted against the Holkar State[403] after the death of Malharrao on Vaishakh Shuddhe II (Tuesday 29th May 1966).[404] Krishna Govind Kamavidar of Rampura and Krishnaji Tanddeo Kamavisdar of Mandsaur with Mirza Adilbeg under Mahadji's service curbed it.[405] Rampura problem was a headech for Ahilyabai also.

In 1818 by the Arrangement made by Malcolm with Holkar State the state lost many areas in Rajasthan and some portions like Rampura Khurd. Rampura Basant also to Nawab Mirkhan but

Rampura and Bhanpura proper was under the control of Holkar state: On March 1795 a treaty was signed with Rampura. Bhavansingh Chandrawat submitted. In general the relations of the state rulers with these subordinate chiefs seem to be cordial, whenever these was some trouble with the central administration or a weak succession or a war like the III battle of Panipat III Anglo-Maratha war, or the Pindari troubles they has shown an instinct to revolt but they were so weak that they could be curbed easily.

The relations of Holkars with Barwani State were also were strained for Malharrao started his career by joining the Barwani state.[405a] The appeal dated 24th September 1771 from the Rana of Barwani against the high handedness of Holkars was sent to Peshwa and stated that he could not submit before the Holkar rulers as they were (Malharrao I) earlier in the state service,[406] but Ahilyabai gave assurance of her protection to Barwani as a letter of Bakhat Kunwar the queen mother to Ahilayabai shows that she was having difference with her son.[407] Ahilyabai reprimended Rana Ummedsingh and asked to follow his moher's directions. This shows that the control of Holkar state over Barwani was complete. On 22 March 1795 Ahilayabai go a letter from Santaji Holkar who took Jalghon for which belonge to the State of Barwani. She resented his action.[408]

The Shindes had troubles with Gohad, Narwar, Raghogarh but they were finally curbed. Raghogah was taken under British control and was given to Pawars. In one word it may be concluded that when Marathas entered Malwa they took these chief under their control but maintained good relations with the local chiefs, paid them respect and honour, at times took them to task. But, they co-operated with the Marathas that also help in the development of a social political and cultural concord between the two communities giving rise to a common Malwa-Maratha Culture.

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59. Shivnarayan Yadav—Indore in 18th Century—Naidunia Deepawali Issue 1977.
60. Thakur V. V. Holkarshahi Sadhane—letter No, 7-8
61. Thakur V. V. Holkarshahi Itihasachi Sadhane—letter No. 6.
62. Ibid., Letter Nos 16-17.
63. Ibid., Leter Nos. 19, 20.
64. Ibid., Letter No. 18.
    (ii) Phalka, A.—Shindeshahi Itihasachi Sadhane, p. 5 foot note.
64a. List of the grant of 2/5 of the territory of Malwa to Malhaji Holkar by Bajirao Ballal Pradhan for the maintenance of his Arm.
65. Thakur V. V. —Peshwa Dafter Saranjam Zade extracted from Rajkird, Holkarshahi cha Itihas, pp. 35-37.
66. Thakur V. V. Holkarshahicha Itihas Vol. I, p. 74.
67. Thakur V. V.—Holkarshahai Itihasahi Sadhane Vol. I letter No. 40.
    The Account sheet of Subhedar Malharji's Mahals.
67.a Thakur V. V. Holkarshahicha Itihas—Vol. I, p. 79.
68. Sangramsingh Mehta collections—agreemet of 27 April 1749 (Gupta, K. S.).
69. Jaipur State Archaieves-Mewar Maratha-relations, p. 64 (ii) Thakur V. V. Holkarshahichi Sadhane I, No. 72.
70. Thakur, V. V.—Holkarshahi Sadhane No. 78.
71. Thakur V. V.—Sarkari Record Holkarshahi Iihasachi Sadhane—letter No. 86.

72. Sardesai, G. S., Kale, Y. N. Kavyethas Sangarh letter No. 81 Marathyanchi Itihasachi Sadhane Rajwade letter No. 158.

73. Thakur. V. V. Holkarshahi Itihasachi Sadhane letter No. 93 Extracted from Peshwa Records.

74. Ibid., letter No. 94.

75. Ibid., letter No. 96.

76. Thakur, V. V. Holkarshahi cha Itihas, p. 89.

77. Ibid., p. 90.

78. Thakur, V. V.—Hlkarshahi Itihashachi Sadhane, letter No. 99.

79. Ibid., 118.

80. Thakur, V. V. Holkarshahi Sadhane letter No. 130.

80a. Holkarshahi, pp. 90-96.

81. Chandrachud Dafter Kala I—68, 70, 143, Khare Vol. I, No. 52.

82. Ichalkanji Dafter No. 66, Chandrachud Dafter Kale I, p. 8.

83. Thakur V. V.—Holkarshahi Sadhane letter No. 181.

84. Thakur V. V.—Holkarshahi cha Itihas, p. 127.

85. Thakur V. V.—Holkarshahi cha Itihas, p. 133.

    (ii) Apte, D. B. Chandrachude Dafter Kala I letter No. 167.

86. Rajwade, K. V.—Patren Yadi Vagereh No. 450.

87. Dr. Raghubirsingh-Khasgi (Devi Ahilya Charities) Trust Ahilya Smarika 1976, p. 13.

88. Thakur V. V. Holkarshani Itihasachi Sadhane, letter No. 69.

89. Yaday Shivnarayan—Naidunia, 'Deepawali Issue', p. 43, Holkarsadhane No. 1977.

90. Thakur V. V.—Holkarshahi Itihasachi Sadhane letter No. 87, 95, 103, 104.

    (ii) Chandraehud Dafter Kala I. Holkarshahi 111-113.

91. Central India State Gazetter Series Indore State Vol. II, pp. 224-333.

92. Sir Malcolm-John Memoirs of Central India, Vol. I (1880), p. 95.

93. Phalke A.—Shindeshahi Iihasachi Sadhane, Vol. I, p. 5.

94. S. P. D. Vol. 30, p. 270.

95. Palke A.—Shindeshahi Itihasachi Sadhane, Vol. I, p. 5.

96. Panjabi—Balkrishna—Malharrao Holkar, pp. 83-85.

97. S.P. D. Vol. 30, p. 30.

    (ii) Shindeshahi Itihasachi Sadhane—Phalke A., Vol. I, p. 5.

98. Thakur V. V. Holkarshahi—Sadhane Vol. I, letter No. 23.
99. S. P. D. Vol. 30, letter No. 318. Gujar M. V. Pawar—Dewas State (Senior) Sadhane letter No. 35.
100. (i) Lele and Oak—Dharchya Pawar Gharanyacha Itihas Vol. II, p. 159. (ii) S. P. D. Vol. 30, p. 2.
(iii) Gujar, M. V. —Pawar Dewas State Senior Sadhane letter No.
101. Luard C. E. Tarjuma Riyasat Gwalior Gazetter Vol. I, p. 23.
102. Ibid., p. 394.
103. (i) Phalke A.—Shindeshahi Itihasachi Sadhane Vol. I, No. 21.
(ii) Gujar, M. V. Dewas State Senior Sadhane letter No. 91.
104. Thakur V. V. Holkarshahi Itihasachi Sadhane letter No. 86, p. 56.
105. Thakur V. V. Holkarshicha Itihas, p. 90.
106. (i) Thakur V. V. Holkarshahi Itihasachi Sadhane letter No. 96.
(ii) S. P. D. Vol. XXI, letter No. 78.
107. Thakur V. V.—Holkarshahi cha Itihas, p. 91.
108. Guja M. V. Pawar (Dewas Senior State) Sadhane letter No. 126.
109. Phalke, A.—Shindeshahi Iihasachi Sadhane, Vol. I, leztter No. 181, pp. 161-162.
110. Gujar, M. V.—Pawar (Dewas State Senior)Sadhane letter No. 132.
111. Madhavrao Ballel Rajnishi, pp. 32-33.
(ii) Pawar Sadhane No. 138.
112. Gujar, M. V.—Pawar Dewas Senior State Sadhane letter No. 147.
113. S.P.D. Yadi Saranan—Quoted from Gujar, M. V. Pawar Dewas State Senior—Sadhane No. 174.
114. Luard C. E., Tarjuma Riyasa Gwalior Gazetteer (Hindi Edi), p. 25.
115. (i) Rajwade, K. V. Aitihasik Patra Vyavahar letter No. 142.
(ii) Gujar, M. V. Pawar Dewas State Senior-Sadhane, letter No. 158.
116. (i) Sardesai, G. S. Mahadji Shinde Yancha Patra Vyavahar letter No. 606.
117. Gujar M. V.—Dewas State Senior Sadhane, letter No. 185, 204.
(ii) Sardesai G. S.—Mahadji Shinde Pancha Patra Vyavahar, letter No. 312, 420. 606.
117a. Sir Sirkar J. N.—Pall of Mughal Empire Vol. III (Hindi Edi) 1722, p. 181.
118. Poona Residency Correspondece, Vol. I, No. 51-James Anderson to John Macpherson.

119. Pawar—Dewas State Senior Sadhane (Gujar, M. V.) letter Nos. 206 to 219.
120. Khare, G. H.—Hingne Dafter Vol. II, letter No. 91.
121. A Itihasik Patra Vyavahar No. 142.
    (ii) Gujar, M. V. Pawar Sdhane, letter No. 158.
121.a Sarkar—Patan Vol. III (Hindi Edi. 1972), p. 181.
122. Luard, C. E.—Tarjuma Riyasat Gwalior Gazetter Vol. I (Hindi Edi. 1912), pp. 438-45.
123. Luard, C. E.—Tarjuma Gazetteer Gwalior State, Vol. II Halat aur Goshware (1912), pp. 233-436.
123a. Gujar, M. V.—Pawar Vishwasrao Gharanyacha Itihas ani Kagad Sangarh, p. 1.
124. Ibid.
125. (i) Dhar State Gazetter, p. 9. (ii) Gujar, M. V., Pawar Vishwasrao Gharanyacha Itihas, p. 2.
126. Gujar M. V.—Pawar Vishwasrao Itihas, p. 3.4.
    Karchale K. C. Senasaptasahastri Vijay, p. 6.
127. Gujar, M. V.—Pawar Vishwasrao Itihas Gharanyacha, pp. 3, 4.
128. (i) Ibid., (ii) Shivaji Maharajanchi Bakhar Chitragupta, p. 122.
129. (i) Kaviraj Shyamaldas Vir Vinod Vol. III. p. 1619.
    (ii) Gujar, M. V.—Dewas State Senior, Pawarancha Itihas, pp. 17-21.
130. Gujar, M. V.—Pawar Vishwasrao Gharanayacha Itihas ka Kagad Sangarh, p. 20.
131. Pawar Vishwasrao—Aitihasik lekh No. 7-11 and 13.
132. (i) S. P. D. Vol. XXX, Letter No. 312. (ii) Gujar, M. V. Pawar Dewas State Senior Sadhane letter No. 14.
133. (i) Gujar. M. V. Sansthan Dewas Sadhane No. 9.
    (ii) S. P. D. Vol. 30, letter No. 308.
134. (i) Gujar. M. V. Sansthan Dewas-Sadhane No. 15. The nobles assisting him were Satwaji Pawar Jiwaji More Sakhaji Sawant, Sultanji More, Apaji Moroji, Dwarkaji Sitole Maloji Sitole, Changoji Babar, Narsoji Zinana, etc.
135. S. P. D. Vol. XIII, letter No. 23.
136. (i) Gujar, M. V.—Pawar Sadhane No. 23. (ii) S. P. D. Vol. XII, letter No. 12.
137. (i) S.P. D. Vol. 13, No. 55. (ii) Gujar, M. V., Dewas State Senior Sadhane letter No. 31.

138. (i) S. P. D. Vol, XXX, letter No. 318.
(ii) Gujar, M. V.—Pawar Dewas State Senior Sadhane letter No. 36-37.

138a. Pawar Sadhane—No. 41-47.
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139. (i) S. P. D. Vol. 30, letter Nos. 320, (ii) Gujai, M. V. Pawar Dewas Sate Senior-Sadhane letter No. 68.

140. Gujar M. V. Pawar Dewas Sate Senior letter No. 76.

141. (i) Phalke, A. Shindeshahi Sadhane Vol. I No. 21.
(ii) Gujar, M. V. Pawar Dewas State Senior Sadhane No. 91.

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143. (i) Shindeshahi Saphane, Vol: No. 88.
(ii) Gujar, M. V.—Pawar Dewas Sate Senior-Sadhane-letter No. 103.

144. Gujar, M. V. Pawar Dewas Sate Senior Sadhane No. 147.

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146. Ibid., 183 (A).

147. (i) Ibid., letter No. 229, 254. (ii) Peshwa Dafter seleced papers Letter No. 63.

148. Luard, C. E., Dhar Sate Gazetteer, p. 11.

149. Phalke, A. Shindeshahichi Sdhane letter Nos. 36, 46, 53. 105 Vol. IV.

150. Bhagvat, A. N., Holkarshahi Sadhane—the correspondence of emlnent ladies Vol. 12, letter Nos. 64, 65A, 73A, 74A.

150a. Luard C. A.—Central India State Gazetteer. Dhar State Gazetteer, pp. 95-121.

151. Gujar, M. V.—Pawar Sadhane letter No. 22. Purander Dafter Vol. 3, letter No. 176.

152. S. P. D. Vol. 13, letter 55.

153. (i) S. P. D., Vol. 2 letter No. 57, 64.
(ii) Gujar, M. V.—Dewas State Senior Sadhane letter Nos. 33, 35, 36.
(iii) S. P. D. Vol. 30. letter Nos. 75, 318.

154 (i) Gujar, M. V. Pawar Dewas State Senior, Sadhane letter No. 40, 4.
(ii) Lele and Osk, Dhar Sansthanacha Itihas Vol. II, p. 154.

155. Ibid.

156. (i) S. P. D. Vol. 30, Leter No. 320. (ii) Gujar, M. V. Pawar Dewas Sate Senior Sadhane No. 68.

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158. Gujar, M. V. Pawar Dewas State Senior Sadhane Letter No. 126.

159. Ibid., 132

160. (i) Tah-va-Kararnader, p. 152. (ii) Gujar, M. V. Pawar, Dewas State Senior, Sadhane letter No. 143.

161. Ibid., letter No. 147.

162. Ibid., letter No. 156.

163. Ibid., letter No. 171.

164. Ibid., letter No. 179.

165. Ibid.

166. Ibid., Letter No. 221.

167. Ibid., Letter Nos. 253, 254.

168. Ibid., letter No. 270.

169 Ibid., letter Nos. 285, 287, 288, 289, 291, 292, 314, 316, 317, 320-322, 324, 333, 344, 346, 350, 351, 356, 358, 359, 364, 372, 382, 397, 404, 407, 411.

169a. Thakur V. V.—Holkarshahi Sadhane, Vol. I, letter No. 50.

170. Apte, D. B. Chandrachud Dafter Kala, p. 8.

171. (i) Khare, Y. V. Aitihasik Lekh Sangarh, pp. 7353-54.
 (ii) Pawar Sadhane Gujar M. V. Pawar Dewas State Sadhan—letter Nos. 278-79.

172. (i) Pawar Sadhane 274. (ii) Shindeshahi Raj No. 339.
 (iii) Thakur V. V., Holkarshahi Itihasachi Sadhane Vol. I, No. 50.

173. (i) Pawar Viswasrao Gharnyache Kagadpare No. 103.
 (ii) Sarkar, G. N. Poona Residency correspondence Vol. I, letter Nos. 50, 51 James Anderson to John Macpherson G. G.
 (iii) Rajwade, K. V., Aitihasik Patra Vyavhar letter No. 286.

174. (i) Gujar, M. V.—Pawar Dewas Senior Sadhane, letter No. 404.
 (ii) Thakur V. V. Holkar Shahi Iihasachi Vol. Sadhane Vol. I, letter No. 26.
 (iii) Phalke Anandrao Shindeshahi Itihasachi Sadhane Vol. I, p. 5.

175. S. P. D. Vol. XIII, letter Nos. 55-56.

176. (i) S. P. D. Vol. XXX, letter No. 316.
 (ii) Gujar, M. V.—Pawar Sadhane letter No. 28.

177. (i) Parsanis D. B.—Brahmendra Swami Charitra letter No. 27.
 (ii) Gujar, M. V.—Pawar Sadhane letter No. 75.

178. (i) S. P. D. Vol. 13, letter No. 55.
(ii) Gujar, M. V.—Pawar Dewas Senior Sadhane letter No. 31.

179. (i) S. P. D. Vol. 30, letter No. 318.
(ii) Gujar M. V.—Pawar Dewas Senior Sadhane letter No. 35.

180. (i) Rajwade Vol. 6 letter No. 95. (ii) S. P. D. 15 letter No. 32 Pawar Sadhane letter No. 69, 71.

181. (i) Rajwade Marathyancy Itihasachi Sadhane Vol. VI letter No. 96. (ii) Gujar, M. V. Pawar Sadhane letter No. 72.

182. Phalke A., Shindeshahi Itihasachi Sadhane, Vol. I., letter Nos. 72, 36, 88, 104, 113, Vol. 112, 113, 4, 31, 72.

183 Ibid., Vol. II. letter Nos. 72 Vol. I, 36.

184. Ibid., Vol. I letter Nos. 49, 50, 53, 57, 59, 74, 80, p. 93.

185. Holkarshahi Iihasachi Sadhane Vol. I, Nos. 113, 125, 126, 127.

186. Shindeshahi Itihasachi Sadhane Vol. Nos. 116-118, 140, 151 Rajwade—A. Patne letter No. 15.
(ii) Sardesai Nanasaheb Peshwa—Aitihasik Patne pp. No. 139-40.

187. Shindeshahi Itihasachi Sadhane Vol. I letter Nos. 72, 86, 83, 115, 153, 179, 187, 190, 122 Vol. II, to 57.
(ii) Extracted from Barve-Subhedar Malharrao Holkar 97.

188. On the basis of Holkarachi Kaijiyat Holkar is accused of leaving the battlefield. His wife Gauambai also scolded him for that. But Rajwade published some 20 papers from Pisal Dafter' in the name of 'Holkaranchi Thaili' in which Malharrao is presented as narrating the event and exempts himself from the crime of leaving the battlefield by telling that looking to the grave situation Sadashiv Bhau asked him to take the laters wife Parvatibai to safe place and it was an 'order' 'for him'. Curiously enough Nana Phadnis who was present at Panipat and hand written his autobiography up to 1761 narrates that war and states that after luckily escaping he went to Gwalior where he could meet Malharji with Parvatibai and late's wife—

ग्वाल्हेरीस सारे लष्कर पनून पार्वती बाइ नाना पुरंदरे मल्हारजी होलर सारे होते तेथे आलो।

Paravatibai would no have accompany a man who would deceive her husband. Then no Shinde Shahi record accused him, whereas he expressed his grief when Balaji Peshwa in a dipressed mood confiscated the Saranjams of Pawar an Shinde in Deccan in the words—"What is the use of the sacrifice made by these persons?" Then if he would have

cheated the native army his Saranjam also would have been confiscated. Also, his character shows that he was not a cavard who in times of crisis when whole of Maharashtra felt disturbed would run away. Even after the battle he was never taunted or accused but was respected as an elderly mediator beween Peshwas conflict with his uncle—In Shindeshahi Sadhane also there is no record to prove it.

188a. (i) Mahadji's letters to Sawai Madhav Singh an Sawai Pratapsingh.

(ii) Dube Shamsunder-Ahilya Smarika Khasgi (D. A. C.) Publication 1972-74, p. 12.

189. Poona Residency 201, 200 Maheshwar Dar Patni Patre Parasnis Vol. II, No. 147-150.

190. Tukoji to Pratapsingh dated 26.3.1788, No. 8, Ahilya Smarika Vol. 1976, p. 82.

191. (i) Mahadji Shinde Yemcha Patra Vyavahar 470-503. Pawar Dewas Sadhane No. 195, Poona Residency correspondence Vol. I, 117, 1118, 122, 124, 129. Chandrachud, Vol. II. No. 71 Maheshwar Durbarchi Batmipatre Vol. II, No. 147, 150.

(ii) R. S. Chandrachud Faftarpalki published in Ahilya Smarika Khasgi Ahilya Charities trust letter Nos. p. 47, letter 48, pp. 52-53 letter No. 67, p. 72. letter Ahilyabai to Tukoji Holkar, letter No. 13, pp. 9-11.

(iii) Thakur V. V. Holkarshahi Iihasachi Sadhane Vol. I, letter No. 238.

192. (i) Arzida Secion Bundde No. 16. Rawat Bhimsingh to Maharaja Sawai Pratapsingh.

(ii) Tukoji Holkar to Sawai Pratapsingh Bikaner Abhilekhagar No. 7.

(iii) Tukoji to Ahilyabai Holkar Shahi Itihasachi Sadhane, letter Nos. 233, 234, 184 Hingne Dafter Vol. II, No. 94, 95, 96.

193. Khare, G. H. Hingne Dafter, Vol. II, Letter Nos. 94 to 96.

194. (i) Ranawat Mahohar Vakia-E-Holkar Men. Ahilyabai Holkar Ka Vinran Ahilya Smarika, 1972, p. 48.

(ii) Chandrachud Daftaratial Nivadak Utare letter of Ahilyabai to Yashwantrao Gangadhar on Sept. 1793 letter No. 123, pp. 133-135.

(iii) Though she wrote to Tukoji—

म्हातार पणी जरब खाल्ली असत्यास घोडे स्वार होऊन येते हराम खोराचे पारिपय व्हावे यात कसूर न करावी। (होलकरांची कैंफियत, अहिल्या स्मारिका)

195. (i) Chandrachud, Daftarati Nivadak Utare, letter of Ahilyabai to Yashwanrao Gangadhar dated Ranjan 4, 16, April 1793, letter No. 116 pp. 126-27 also letter No. 133, p. 142.
     (ii) Holkarshahi cha Itihas, pp. 334-352.
     (iii) Thakur V. V.—Holkarashahi Itihasachi Sadhane Rajkird, 14 Savan 1781.

195a. Holkarshahi cha Itihas, p. 318 (Extracted from Bakshi Khumansingh Rojnamchya.

195b. (i) Thakur V. V. Holkarshahi Itihasachi Sadhane—Ahilyabai to Nana Phadnis wih regards to the succession of Tukoji Pawar after to Krishnaji Pawar's death.
     (ii) Left Gurjar M. V. Pawar Dewas Senior Sadhane letters of Mahadji to various officers at Poona to accept Tukoji Pawar as Krishnaji Pawar and successor for the adoption ceremony was made by the deceased letter Nos. 205 to 219.

195. Gujar, M. V.—Dewas Sadhane, letter Nos. 314, 316, 317, 324, 333, 348, 349, 350, 351, 356.

197 Ibid., 339, 341, 342, 363.

198. Ibid., 344, 353, 354.

199. Ibid., 334, 335, 338, 346.

200. Dewas Senior State—Pawar letter No. 337, 338.

201. Gujar, M. V.—Dewas Pawa Sadhane, letter No. 338. Shinde Shahi Itihasachi Sadhane Vol. IV, letter No. 13, 14.

202. Shinde Shahi Itihasachi Sadhane Vol. IV, letter Nos. 1 to 8.

203. Gujar, M. V.—Dewas Sadhane, 3, 5, 6, 352, 360, 364.

204. Ibid., 322, 368.

205. Shindeshahi Itihasachi Sadhane Vol. III, No. 204, 214.

206. Ibid., Vol. IV, letter No. 69.

207. Gujar, M. V. Pawar Sadhane, letter Nos. 365, Peshwe Dafter Nivadak Gagad Patre No. 63-64.

208. Holkarshahi Sadhane Holka Shahi till Striyancha Patra Vyvahar Shindeshahi Sadhane, Vol. IV. 190. Pawar Sadhane 378, 379.
     A. N. Bhagwat, Vol. 12, letter No. 73-A, 74-A.

209. Shindeshahi Sadhane, Vol. IV, No. 1.

210. Ibid Letter No. 45, 52, 79, 139.

211. Pawar Sadhane, letter No. 360, 365, 369.

212. Peshwa Daftery, seleced papers, p. 63, 64, 382.
213. Pawar Sadhane, Letter No. 374, 375.
214. Gujar, M. V. Dewas State Pawar Sadhane letter No. 357.
215. Ibid., 370, 389, 390 to 392.
216. Aitichison Vol. IV, pp. 61, 170.
217. Ojha, G. H.—History of Rajputana (Vedic Yantralaya Ajmer, 1931). Vol. I, p. 3.
218. Dr. Mishra Y. C. Geography of Rajasthan—India the land and series—National Book Trut, New Delhi (1967).
219. Sir Birdwood George—'The Maratha Plough'—Asian Review Asiatic Quaterly—Vol. VI, 888 II. p. 125.
220. Mirat Te—Ahmadi—Bibliotheca Indica Series Vol. I, p. 253.
221. (i) Rajapur Records—Gafford to the president of Surat Factory 12th April 1663. F. R. (Surat) No. 103, p. 268.
   (ii) The life of Shivaji written by Cosme-de-Gaurda published—1730.
222. (i) Travels in Mughal India Bernier, p. 188.
   (ii) Storia—The Mogar-Manucci—Vol. 2, p. 104.
223. (i) Jodhpur Hukumat ri Bahi—p. 15.
   (ii) Matasir-ul-Umara (Hindi) Vol. 13, p. 301.
   (iii) Marwar Pargana ri Vigat, p. 132.
224. Alamgirnama, p. 819, Maasir-E-Alamgiri, p. 17a.
225. Masir-E-Alamgiri, pp. 172-198.
   Dr. Sharma G. N. Mewad and the Mughals, pp. 169-180.
226. (i) Orme—Robert F. A. S.—Historical fragments of Moghul Empire (1782), p. 105.
   (ii) Late Dr. Kamal Gokhale—Shivputra Sambhaji (Hindi Edition 1971), p. 106.
227. (i) Jedhe Shakavali Kartik Shukla Tryodashi.
   (ii) Parihar G. R.—Marwar-Maratha-Sambhandh (Hindi) Edi. 1977, p. 8.
228. Jaipur Record, Letter from Sambhaji to Raja Ram Singh No. 123, 125.
229. Orme—Robert F. A. S.—Historical Factory records (English) Bombay to Surat dated 4th Feb. 1682 A. D.
   (ii) Dr. Kamal Gokhale—p. 191.
   (iii) Orme—Robert F. A. S. Historical fragments of the Mogul Empire (1782), p. 292.

230. Dr. Parihar G. R.—Marwar—Maratha Sambhandh, p. 19.
231. (i) Vad G. G—Sahu Rajanchi Rajnishi, p. 198.
 (ii) Rajasthan State Archives—Kota records—Samvat 1754-Basta No. 15. Bhandar No. 1.
232. Rajashan State Archives—Kota record, No. 4 Bhandar No. 1 Samwat 1739.
233. (i) Ibid., Basta No. 13 of Bhandar 1 Samvat 1752.
 (ii) Pagadi Setumadhav Rao Tarikh-e-Dikhusa (1963)—(Translation of Bhimsen Saxena's work—extracted from Bharat Itihas Samshodhak Mandal Qrtly. 59A. 3-4 Shake 1902, p. 50.
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235. (i) Rajasthan State Archives—Jaipur record—Ashadha Shudhe 2, Sambat 1768. Draft dated June 7th 1711 A. D. Jaisingh to Biharidas Pancholi expressing his desire to check the Maratha advance in the trans Narbada territory.
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236. Sardesai Commemoration Volume, pp. 69-67.
237. Dr. Satischandra—Parties and Politics at Mughal Court (1707-1740 A. D) Edi II 1972. Inroduction, p. 17.
238. Jaipur Archives Records—Jagjiwan to Maharaja Sawai Jaisingh, September 27th, 1713 A. D.
239. Ibid.
240. (i) Ibid., (ii) S. P. D. XXX, letter No. 308.
241. (i) Thorley Shahu Maharaj Yanche Charitra (II Edi.). 1924, pp. 50-55.
 (i) Maharashtra Itihasachi Sadhane Vol. II—Bendre V. S., No. 558.566.
 (iii) Treaties and engagements—Mawaji P. V. (1914), p. 1-9.
242. Bendre V. S.—Maharashtra Itihasachi Sadhane, Vol. II, pp. 346-348.
243. Reu, B. N. Glories of Marwar and glorious Rathors.
 (i) Jodhpur (1943), p. 114.
 (ii) Irvine Williams—letter Mughals—Vol. I, p. 404.
244. Irwin—Later Mughals Vol. II, P. 404.
245. Bendre V. S., Maharashtra Iihasachi Sadhane, Vol. II, Letter Nos. 316, 317, pp. 356-348.
246. (ii) Sardesai G. S. Marathi Riyasat I, 80.
 (ii) Duff G. J. G. Vol. I, p. 393.

Tod James—Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan Vol. I (1957) A.

247. Dr. Satish Chandra-Parties and Politics at the Mughal court (1707)-1740) (Edi II—1792) p. 201.

248. Sinha, H. N.—Rise of the Peshwas II (Edi), p. 68.

249. (i) Iitihas Sangrah—Parasnis D. B.—'Peshwe Daftratil Sanad Pattern'— Quarterly May-July 1915, pp. 128-129 in which it is stated that Sayyad Abdulla an Mughal offices 1900.
   (ii) Sawai Jaisingh—1003.
   (iii) Maharana of Mewar—1000.
   (iv) Rana Mansingh of Marwar Rs. 3001.
   (v) Prime Minister Mewar Rs. 2001.
   (vi) Prime Miniser Amber Rs. 2001.
   (vii) Mir Shikar of Jaisingh Rs. 100.
   (viii) Vidyadhar Dikshit of Jaisingh Rs: 200.
   (ix) Mayaram Vakil Rs. 700 others Rs. 1350.

250. Dr. Sinha—Rise of the Peswas, p. 68.

251. Nensi—Marwari Khya Vol. II, p. 123.

252. Dighe V. G.—Peshwa Bajirao I, p. 21.

253. (i) Bharat Itihas Sanshodhak Mandal Qrt. Jan. April 1972 Outurkar R. V. Senapati Dhabhade Gharana—Ek Ahhyas.
   (ii) S. P. D. Vol.—30, pp. 234-241.

254. Marwarri Khyat, Vol. II, p. 125.

255. S. P. D. Vol. 13, letter No. 1.

256. (i) Jaipur State Archives—Sangramsingh II to Sawai Jaisingh of Jaipur Asad Sudi 14, Saturday Amvat 1782.
   (ii) Thakur V. V., Holkarshahi Itihasachi Sadhane Vol. I, letter No. 8.

257. Rajasthan State Archives—Jodhpur Records Parwanah from Jaisingh to Bhandari Raghunath, Bhadrapad Vadi, 7, Samvat 1882 (9th August, 1726 A. D.).

258 Rajasthan State Archives—Jodhpur Record-'Parwanah' Bhadrapad Vadi 7, Samvat 1783 (August, 9th 1726).

259. (i) Lele, K. K. and Oak—Dhar Samsthanacha Iihas, pp. 16-30.
   (ii) Marwar ri-Khya Vol. 2, p. 231.

260. Wad G. C—Shahu Maharaj Yanchi Rojnishi letter No. 105, p. 47.

261. S. P. D. Vol. 13, No. 54.

262. Jodhpur Rajya ki Kyat, Vol. II, p. 23.
263. Ibid.
264. (i) Ibid., p. 23.
     (ii) Barhat Shivdatta Dan-'Jodhpur-ki-Khyat references-Ahilya Smarika. Published by Khasgi Charitable Trust Holkar State Indore 1977, p. 23.
265. Thakur V.V., Holkarshahi cha Itihas, Vol. I, p. 32.
266. Sardesai G. S. History of Marathas Vol. II, p. 129.
267. Jodhpur Rajya ki Khyat Ahilya Smarika
     Published Khasgi (Devi Ahilya Charities) Trust Indore 1977, p. 23.
268. (i) S. P. D. Vol. XIV, No. 1, 2, 10.
     (ii) Jodhpur ki Khyat, Vol. II, Ahilya Smarika 1977, p. 23.
269. S. P. D. Vol. XIII, letter No. 49.
270. S. P. D. Vol. XIII, No. 9 dated 16.6.1726.
271. (i) Jaipur State Archives No. 226, 854 dated Nov. 24, 1724.
     (ii) Gupta, K.S., Mewar an the Maratha relations p. 34.
272. (i) Dharchya Pawar Gharanyacha Itihas Lele K.K. and Oak, pp. 34-35.
     (ii) Ojha-Rajputana ka Itihas Vol. 3, p. 125.
273. Dharchya Pawar Gharadyacha Itihas Vol. II, p. 30.
274. Kolhapur Seminar Dr. Raghubir Singh Jaipur (Hindi) letter.
275. S. P. D. Vol. XIII, letter Nos. 10, 49.
276. S. P. D. Vol. XXX, p. 291.
277. S.P.D. Vol. XXX, pp 307-309.
278. (i) S. P. D. Vol, XVII, letter Nos. 28, 47, 65, 67, 68, 79.
     (ii) S. P. D. Vol. XIV, letter No. 27.
279. Selections from Satara Raja's Diaries Vol. I, p. 95. Dr Satish Chandra—'Power and politics in Mughal Empire'—pp. 204, 273.
     Jaipur Archives Persian Record, Vol. 2, No. 188. S.P.D. Vol. X, No. 60.
280. S. P. D. Vol. XIV, No. 1, 3
281. Ibid.
282. (i) Thakur V. V., Holkarshahi cha Itihas, p. 35.
     (ii) S. P. D. Vol. XXII, letter No. 55-82.
283. S. P. D. Vol. XIV, letter No. 21.
284. Sir Sarkar J. N.—Fall of the Mughal Empire (1971), p. 154.

285. Dr. Saxena R. K.—Maratha relations with the Major State of Rajputana, p. 360.
286. Sir Sarkar Jadunath fall of the Mughal Empire Vol. I, p. 140.
287. S. P. D. Vol. XIV letter No. 11.
288. (i) Ibid.,—No. 13.
 (ii) Vamsha Bhaskar-Suryamal Misran, pp. 3216-21. Bhatnagar Virendra-Sawai Jaisingh, p. 142.
289 S.P. D. Vol. XIV, No. 21. The Foster brother of Maharaja Jagatsingh asked or Tika and Royal robe to be sent by Shahu to the new Maharaja on his acession.
290. Col. Tod James-Annals and Intiguities of Rajasthan. Vol. I, p. 320.
291. (i) Vamsha Bhaskar, p. 3227.
 (ii) Marwar Ri-Khyat, p. 143.
 (iii) Shyamaldas Vir Vinod, pp. 1218, No. 122.
 (iv) Sir Sarkar J. Mughal Samrajya ka Patan Vol. I, pp. 158-159.292. S. P. D. Vol. XIV, letter 21, 23.
293. (i) Jodhapur Kajya Ki Khyat No 1, 2, p. 331.
 (ii) Itihas Sangarh Atitihasik Charitre, p. 61—gives the number of soldiers as 50,000 which apears to be correct.
294. Col. Tod James—'Annal and Antiquities of Rajasthan Vol. I, pp. 383-384.
295. (i) S. P. D. Vol. XIV, letter No. 24, 26, 27.
 (ii Jaipur-Archives. Hindi Records. letter of Dan Singh to Jorawarsingh dated 31st March 1735.
296. S. P. D. Vol. XXII, letter no. 284. Misran Suryamal Vamsha Bhaskar Vol. IX, p. 3230.
297. (i) Hingne Dafter Vol. I. letter No. 4, Bharat Itihas Samshodhak Mandal Series 65.
 (ii) S. P. D. Vol. XIV, No. 24, 26, 27, 31, 32, 47.
298. S.P. D. Vol. XIV No. 5.
299. Ibid., No. 50, 51.
300. G. H. Ojha History of Rajputana Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 128.
301. Bharat Itihas Samshodhak Mandal Quarterly July-October 1, 1952, p. 180.
302. (i) S. P. D. Vol. XXX letter No. 221.
 (ii) Gujar, M.V., D. S. T. Pawar Gharanya Itihasachi Sadhane letter No. 70.

303. (i) Vir Vinod, pp. 1228-1229.

(ii) S. P. D. Vol. XIII, No. 54.

304. Rajwade Marathyanchya Itihasachi Sadhane Vol. II, p. 73.

305. S. P.D. Vol. XIV, No. 52.

306. Ibid., No. 54, 56. Baji Bhivarao wrote—

एकच दिवशी पृथ्वी गोला करावी येसे नाही।

307. Dr. Raghubirsingh-Some Hindi and Marathi letters Malharrao Holkar's times' Ahilya Smarika 1971—Devi Ahilya Khasgi Charitis Trust Indore. the learned author of 'Transtion in Malwa' refers to Shahpura Khyat as unpublished.

308. S. P. D. Vol. XIV, No. 14 (The correct date should be Ist April 1736).

309. S. P. D. Vol. XIV, No. 14.

310. Ibid.

311. Jodhpur Rajya Ki Khyat pp. 232-34. Ahilya Smarika (1972), p. 24.

312. (i) Illiot and Dawson-Tarikh-e-Hind (Trans) Vol. VIII p. 52.

(ii) Parihar, O. R. Maratha—Marwar Relations, p. 37.

313. S. P. D. Vol. XIV—letter No. 54.

324. Khare, G. H.—Hingne Dafter Vol. I (B.L.S.M. Series 63) No. 13, 14, These letters report that Hingen was acively trying to bring the emperor to take final decision with regards to Maratha rights over Malwa-through Sawai Jaising assuring Sawai Jaisingh that Bajirao was not favouring Asafjah agains the emperor.

315. (i) Parasnis D. B.—Itihas Sangarh Aitihasik Charcha No. 4.

(i) Sardesai G. S., New History of the Marathas, Vol. II, (1948), pp. 166-167.

315a. Bhave, V. K.—Peshwe Kalin Maharashtra, p. 28.

316. Dr. Bhatnagar Virendra 'Sawa Jaisingh', p. 344.

317. Personal, inerview wih the Jaipur Maharashtrian families.

318. Rajwade V. K., 'Marathyanhya Itihasachi Sadhane Vol. III, letter No. 260, Brahmendra Swami to Sawai Saisingh (1733 A. D)., Khare, G. H., Hingne Dafter Vol. I, BISM Series 163 No. 14.

319. S. P. D. Vol. XXX, No. 322-323 (March 1736).

320. Ibid.,—p. 369 (Dated , Feb. 1736).

321. Khare, G. H., Hingne Dafter Vol. I (BISM) Sries 63 No. 18 letter of Ranoji to Mahadeo Bhatt to Delhi suggest that people a Delhi were ontended to know about he disturbance caused by the death of Bajirao.

He also informed that Balaji is conferred with the title of Peshwaship and that the letter should not worry about the problems there.

322. (i) Thakur V. V.—Holkarshahi Itihasachi Sadhane Vol. I, No. 49.
  (ii) Falke Anandrao Shindeshahi Itihasachi Sadhane Vol. I, letter No. 2.
  (iii) Gujar M. V., Dewas Samsthan Pawar Charanyachya Itihasachi Sadhane, letter No. 8.
  (iv) S. P. D. Vol. XXII, Letter No. 129.
323. Gupta, K. S.—Mewar and Maratha relations, p. 54.
324. Khare, G. R. Hingne Dafter (BIMS) Vol. I, No. 28, letter No. 28 (letter of Balaji Bajirao to Ranoji series 1963 Shinde Magh Vadya 6 (25 Jan. 1744).
325. Khare, G. H., Hingne Dafter Vol. I (BIMS) 63, No. 27.
326. Shahpura Kikhyat (Unpublished Vol. 2, p. 173. Dr Raghubirsingh collection-Natnagar Shodh Sams than Sitamau.
327. Mishran Suryamal-Vamsha Bhaskar, pp. 3374-337.
328. Khare, G. H., Hingne Dafter Vol. I, No 29.
329. Ibid.
330. Dr. Raghubir Singh collection, Shahpura Ki Khyat (unpublished) states that when Jagatsingh did not take any step Holkar Khanderao wrote to Ummed Singh of Shahpura after all the formal statements—

  राजवडे है अप्रच राज भी जाकर बैठ रहे अर श्री दीवाणजी वो कुच करायो नहीं अणकुच सिताब करवाबसी। अर श्री दीवाणजी कूंच करबाकी ढील होय तोम्हाने लिखासी सो म्हे भी त्ठे ही आबा बैठकाई करा

331. (i) Col. Tod James-Annal and Antiquities of Rajasthan Vol. I, (1957) p. 338.
  (ii) S. P. D. Vol. II, letter Nos. 1, 34.
332. (i) G. H. Khare, Hingne Dafter Vol. I, letter No. 41.
  (ii) Sardesai, G. S. Kale, Y. M. Kulkarni K. P.—Aitihasik Patre Vyavahai (1933), No. 41, pp. 29-30.
333. S. P. D. Vol. II, No. 11, pp. 17-18.
334. Dr. Raghubir Singh-Shahpura Ki Khyat (Unpublished) Vol. 2, p. 41
335. (i) Thakur V. V., Holkarshahi Itihasachi Sodhane Vol I, No. 72.
  (ii) Khare, G. H., Hingne Dafter Vol. I, (BIMS), Series 6, 3, letter No. 31.
336. (i) Col. Tod James-Annals antiquities of Rajasthan Vol. I, p. 338.
  (ii) S. P. D. Vol. II, letter No. 31, pp. 51-55.

(iii) Sir Sarka Jadunath fall of the Mughal empire (1971) Vol. I, p. 186.

337. Sardesai G. S. Kulkarni, Kale, K. A.—Aitihasik Patra Vyavahar, Letter Nos. 41, 42, 60, 68, 76.

338. S. P. D. Vol. XXVI, letter No. 64, 65.

339. Ibid.

340. Falke Anandrao Shinde Shahi Itihasachi Sadhane, Vol, I, Peshwa Dafter Poona No. 179, Bundi agreement accounts.

341. (i) Phalke Anandrao-Shinde Shahi Itihasachi Sadhane-Gulgule Dafter Vol. I, Nol 27.

(ii) Suryamal Mishran-Vamsha Bhaskar, pp. 3374-79.

342. Phalke Shindeshahi Itihasachi Sadhane, Vol. I, No. 29.

343. Phalke-Anandrao Shindeshahi Itihasachi Sadhane Vol. I, letter Nos. 2 to 15, 24, 26, 27, 29, 30, 32, 42, 45. No. 14—

करतील तैसे पावतील/त्याचे त्यासच प्रतिबंध होईल/नानापैकाना महाराव दरबाराते हसेहोईल/कोटयाचा कारमार खोटा/इश्वरे त्यांना पहिल।

where the wards uttered by the Ranoji for Kota ruler.

344. Ibid., No. 38 to 44, 71, 72.

345. It is curious to know how Jayappa took part in Jan. 1745 (Suryamal Mishran Vansha Bhaskar) for the letter about the lost were is written by Ranoji Shinde to Balaji Yashwant Gulgule an his letters are recorded up to 24 June 1745. That means he was alive till that period.

346. Mishran Suryamal-Vamsha Bhaskar-3534-3542.

347. Ibid., No. 68, 69, 70.

348. (i) Phalke-Andandrao Shindeshahi Itihasachi Sadhane Vol. I, No. 11, 20, 21, 38.

(ii) Gujar, M. V.—Pawar (Dewas S. P.) Patni Sadhane, No. 91.

349. Ibid., No. 102.

350. (i) Sir Sarkar-Fall of the Mughal Empire (Hindi Edi. 1971) Vol. I, No. 176.

351. (i) Gujar, M. V. Pawar Samasthan Dewas Gharanyachya Itihasachi Sadhane letter Nos. 41, 68, 91.

(ii) S. P. D. Vol. XXX, Nos. 320.

(iii) Falke Shindeshahi Itihasachi Sadhane, Vol. I, No. 21.

352 Dr. Raghubirsingh, Ahilya Smarika, Devi Ahilya, p. 6.

353 Dr. Raghubirsingh collection Shahpura Ki Khyat Unpublished Sitamau collections No. 137-146.

354. Khare, G. H., Hingne Dafter (BIMS) 63, Vol. I, No. 19, letter No. dated June , 1740.

355. Khare, G. H. Hingne Dafter (BIMS 630, Vol. I, No, 32.

Dr. Parmar G. R. Maratha-Marwar relations, p. 39.

356. Ibid.

357. Phalke, A., Shindeshahi Iitihasachi Sadhane, Vol I, letter No 75-77-78 to 81.

358. Mishran Suryamal-Vamsha Bhaskar, pp. 3534-3543.

359. Sir Sarkar—The fall of the Mughal Empire (1971), Vol. II, pp. 199-200.

360. G. H.—Khare-Hingne Dafter Vol. I, (BIMS 63), No 59, a report dated 1673 Sravan Shudnhe, 7, Vajya 9.

361. Jodhpur Rajyaki Khat, Vol. 2, pp. 270-271.

Infact Ramsingh was hopeful because after Ram Singh's accessing Malharrao sent the 'Tika' to the new ruler of Jodhpur. The Jodhpur ki Khyat states

दिखणी मलारसु टीको आयो हाथी 1, घोड़ा 4 सिरपाव तोरा साये अवसार 200 दोयसा आया।

An interesting story is narrated the Khyat with regards to the presented elephant.

362. Phalke Anandrao-Shindeshahi Iihasachi Sadhane, Vol. I, No. 89.

363. Khare, G. H., Hingne Dafter Vol. I (BISM Series 63) No. 46, Shahpura ki Khyat-Dr. Raghubir Singh Sitamau Collection.

364. Letter of Malharrao to Ummedsingh of Shahpura Magsar Suddhi 8, 1805 i.e. No. Vol. 17, 1747. Vol. 2, pp. 139-140, published Ahilya Smarika Khai Devi Ahilya Charities Trust Indore, pp. 973-74, p. 7.

365. S. P. D. Vol. XXI, letter No. 50, pp. 48-49.

366. Phalke Anandrao—Shindeshahi Itihasachi Sadhane, Vol. I, letter No. 103.

Dr. Parmar G. R. p. 78.

367. Khare, G. H., Hingne Dafter Vol. I, letter Nos. 47, 48, 49, 52, 58, 61, 62, 71.

368. Phalke Anandrao—Shinde Shahi Itihasachi Sadhane, Vol. I, letter Nos. 92, 93, 95, 104, 115, As nearly more than 100 letters site to this fact that in Rajputs were not yielding.

369. Phalke Anandrao-Shindeshahi Iihasachi Sadhane, Vol. I, letter Nos. 114, 116, 117.

370. Ibid., letter Nos. 118, 136.
371. Ibid., letter Nos. 140, 141.
372. G. H. Khare—Hingne Dafter Vol. I, Letter No. 189. letter of Dharmraj Tamaji and Balaji Govind to Raghunathrao on March 21, 1756, pp. 131-132.
373. Parmar G. R. Maratha Marwar Relation, p. 69.
374. Dr. Parihar G. R., Marwar Maratha relations, p. 53. Mishran Suryamal Vamsha Bhaskar, pp. 3534-3543.
375. Phalke Anandrao—Shindeshahi Itihasachi Sadhane, Vol. No. 1, letter Nos. 26, 51, 179, 180, 223.
376. S. P. D. Vol. XIV.

     Khare, G. H., Hingne Dafter Vol. I, letter Nos. 24 Balaji to Maharji Holkar.
377. Dr. Raghubvirsingh's article—'Malharrao Holkar ke Kucch Aur Aitihasik Hindi.....Ahilya Smarika (Devi Ahilya Charities) Trust Indore Year 1973-74, p. 7. Dr. Raghubirsingh has also expressed the same view of Malharrao in the article.
378. Phalke Anandrao—Shindeshahi Itihasachi Sadhane, letter Nos. 43-42.

     Dr. Raghubirsingh letters and Sanads of Maratha rulers, officers, commanders.
379. Letters of Ahilyabai Holkar Bikaner collections No. 1 Nov. II, 1771, No. 2—Ahilya Smarika Year 1971, p. 10.
380. (i) Ibid., Miti Phalgun Badi 6 Samat 182 Saturday 10 February 1976.

     (ii Ibid., No. 3 Bhadrapad Vadi 12 Samvat 1838, (Thursday 16, 1781).

     (iii) Ibid., No. 4. Kartik Sudi 2 Samvat 1849 Wednesday 17 October Also latters of Tukoji Holkar, Letter No. 4 preserved in Bikaner archives published in Ahilya Smarika (Kahasgi Trust) year 1976, p. 81.
381. Phalke Anandrao—Shindeshahi Itihasachi Sadhane, Vol. i, lettes 146, 147, 149, 151.

381.a. S. P. D. Vol. XXIV. Letter No. 248, pp. 256-57.

382. Alienation office and Peshwa Dafter Poona (Parasnisani Nivalde Kagad unpublished, pp. 222-223 and 230.

     (i) Letters of Malharrao Holkar to Peshwa Madha Rao I 4th Nov, 1761.

     (ii) •Letter of Dharmaji Tamaji to Raghunathrao Nov. 1761.

383. Sir Sarkar J. N., Fall of the Mughal Empire (Hindi) 197, 201-209.

383a. (i) Phalke Anandrao-Shindeshahi Itihasachi Sadhane, Vol. I, letter No. 76, p. 63.

(ii) S. P. D. Vol. XXIX-letter No. 248, pp. 256-57.

Dr. Gupta K. S. and Dr. Mathur L. P. 'Selections from Banera Archives' Publication Sahitya Samsthan Rajashan Vidyapith, Udaipur 1967, Vol. I, p. 6.

384. (i) Delhi Chronicle and the Maratha-Diplomatic correspondence, Vol. I, pp. 223-221. J. N. Sarkar Patan.

(ii) Garga R. S., Chandrachud Daftaratil Nivdak other letters of Ahilyabai to Mahadji Shinde letter Nos. 134, pp. 142-143, letter Nos. 151, p. 156, letter No. 168, pp. 169-170.

385. (i) Sardesai G. S., letters related to Mahadji Scindia No. 503.

(ii) Paranis D. B., Maheshwar Durbarchi Batmi Patre, Vol. II, 147.

(iii) Sir Sarkar J. Poona Residency correspondence Vol. I, pp. 135-137.

(iv) Sir Sirkar J. N., Fall of Mughal Empire, Vol. III, (Hindi) pp. 201.

385.a. Saxena R. K.—Maratha relations with the Major sates of Rajpuana (1761-1818 A. D), p. 118.

386. Sir Sirkar Jadunath—Fall of the Mughal Empire Vol. II (Hindi Edi.), p. 209.

The Chandra poet 'Jasdan Mahigaria' wrote about Yashwant Rao Holkar. (Refer Reference 378 over leaf).

दखणी दखणी पवन ज्यु न ह जातो जसवन्त

फैल उतर कर दाल फिरंग कुल लोपना करंत।

387. Prithvisingh-Hamara Rajasthan, pp. 191-192.

(i) Gupta K. S. quoted a verse in 'Mewar and the Maratha relations'

(ii) Also Saubhaghya Singh Shakawat—Rajasthani Kavya Men Yashwantrao Holkar, Ahilya Smarika, pp. 26-27 (1978).

There is a good collection of the poems composed by Bakidas.

388. Ashiya of Jodhpur, Dr. Raghubir Singh-Malwa men Yuganar, p. 13.

389. Ibid.

390. (i) Ibid.

(ii) Riyasat Gwalior History Jagirdaran, Vol. II, pp. 605-628.

391. (i) Ahilya Smarika—Article of Manoharsingh Ranawat. Jodhpur ka Malwa Ka Rajanase Sambandh.

(ii) Nensi Marwar ra Pargana ri vigat Vol. I, pp. 70-77.

392. Jodhpur Rajya Ki Khyat, p. 123. Marwad ra Pargana ri Vigat Vol. I, p. 14.
393. Dr. Raghubir Singh Article—Madhya Malwa Men Makdavan Sambandhi Kagaj Patra' Ahilya Smarika. Khasgi Trust Indore Vol.Year 1977, p. 10. The present decedent of this dynasty has all the old statepapes from Mughal time to the Maratha rule.
394. The stone edicts of Holkars found at Kotadi-Ahilya Smarika year—1875.
395. Unpublished papers relating to the Jagir of Panth Piploda-Scindia Prachhya Vidya Shodh Sansthan. Vikram Kirti Mandir.
396. (i) Dr. Raghubir Singh—The extracts from 'Buleje Bakhar' the list of Thakors paying the Tanka Ahilya Smarika Years 1978, p. 13.
(ii) The Makdawan papers published by Dr. Raghubirsingh Ahilya Smarika 1977, p. 15.
397. Phalke Anandrao-Shinde Sahai Itihasachi Sadhane, Vol. I, letter No. 43.
Shinde's had cordial relations with one Mirza Abdul Rahim had relations with Mahadji. He used to see Jayaji's affairs. His son Mirza Afzalbeg is seen sitting with Mahadji in one of the paintings of Mahadji found in Kota Dafter of Gulgules.
398. The Mandloi's of Kampet the Mandloi Dafter presented by the descendant of the family Shri Niranjan Jamidar and published by Dr. Raghubir Ahilya Smarika—1976, pp. 9-14.
399. Riyasat Gwalior—Tarikh Jagirdaran Vol. II, pp. 615-616.
399a. Dr. Raghubir Singh—'Rampura Kshetra Vanhanka Chandavat Vamsh and Malhar Rao Holkar'. Ahilya Smarika (Khasgi Trust Publication) year 1975, p. 10.
400. (i) Ibid., pp. 9-10.
(ii) Shyamaldars 'Vir Vinod', p. 950.
401. Dr. Raghubirsingh's article—Ahilya Smarika—Khasgi (Devi Ahilya Charities) Trust Indore Year 1975, p. 11. The Rampur Ki Khyat also narrates some of the events taking place. The Khyat is important for details it gives about the adjacent areas and Parganas under Rampura called 'Haweli'.
401 a Dr. Raghubir Singh's aricle (Ahilya Smarika' Khasgi (Devi Ahilya Charities) Trust Year 1975, p. 14.
402. (i) S. P. D. Vol. XXI, letter No 271, pp. 276-277.
(ii) Thakur V. V., Holkar Shahi Itihasachi Sadhane, Vol. I letter No. 12.
403. (i) Thakur V. V. Holkarshahi Itihaspsachi Sadhane Vol. I, No. 157.
(ii) Rajasthan State Artichives—Kharita from Rai Badribhan to

Maharaja Rajsingh II dated Chitra Bcdi 7, Samvat 1817 i.e. 28th March 1768 A. D.

404. Thakur V. V. Holkar Shahi Itihasachi Sadhane Vol. I. letter No. 1, letter No. 253—Meleravo Holkar to Gopal Balal Kamavisdar of Sanwet.

405. Thakur V. V., Holkarshahi Itihasachi Sadhanc, letter No. 44.

406. Ibid., letter No. 175.

407. Ibid., letter No. 320.

408. Thakur V. V., Holkarshahicha Itihas, Vol. II, p. 320.

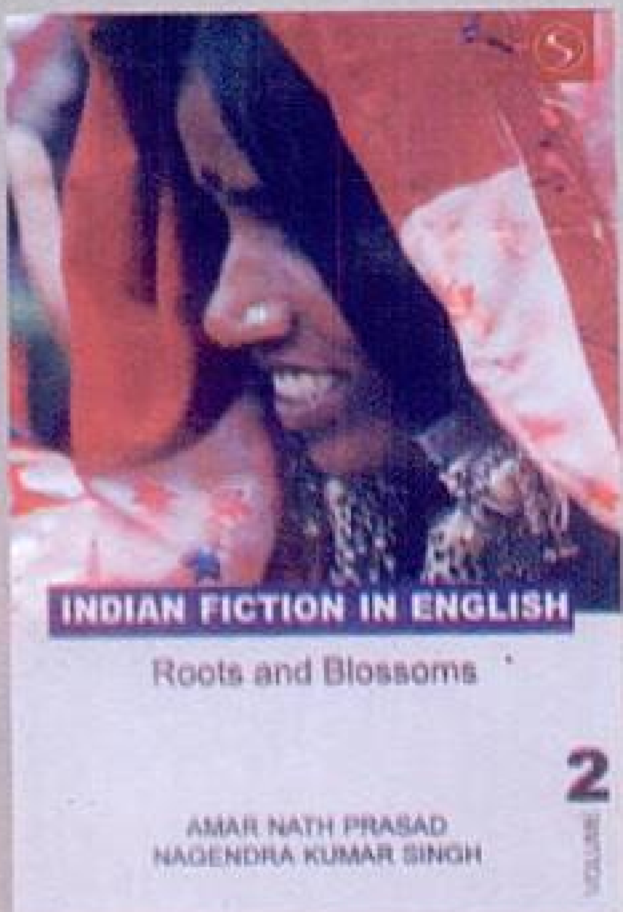
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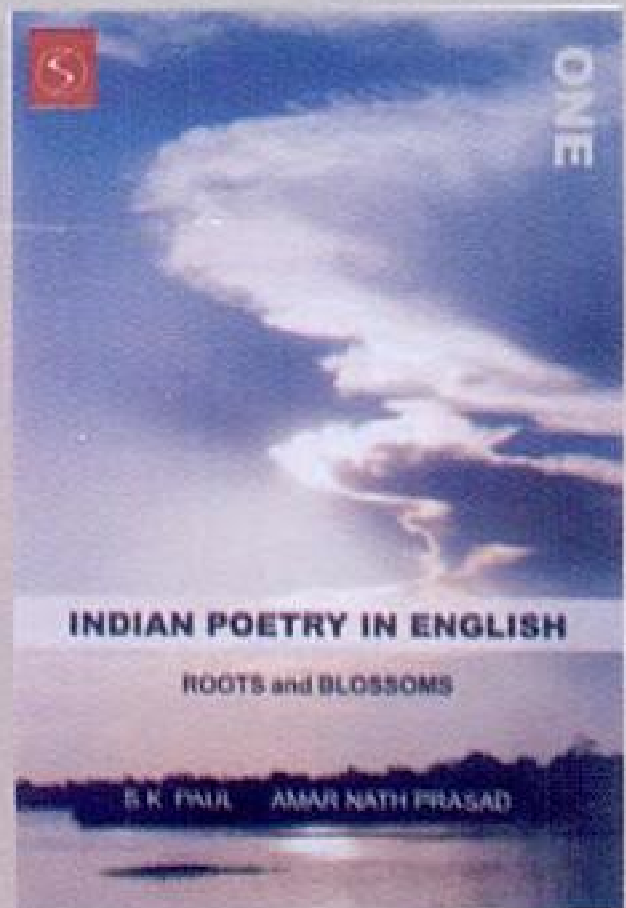
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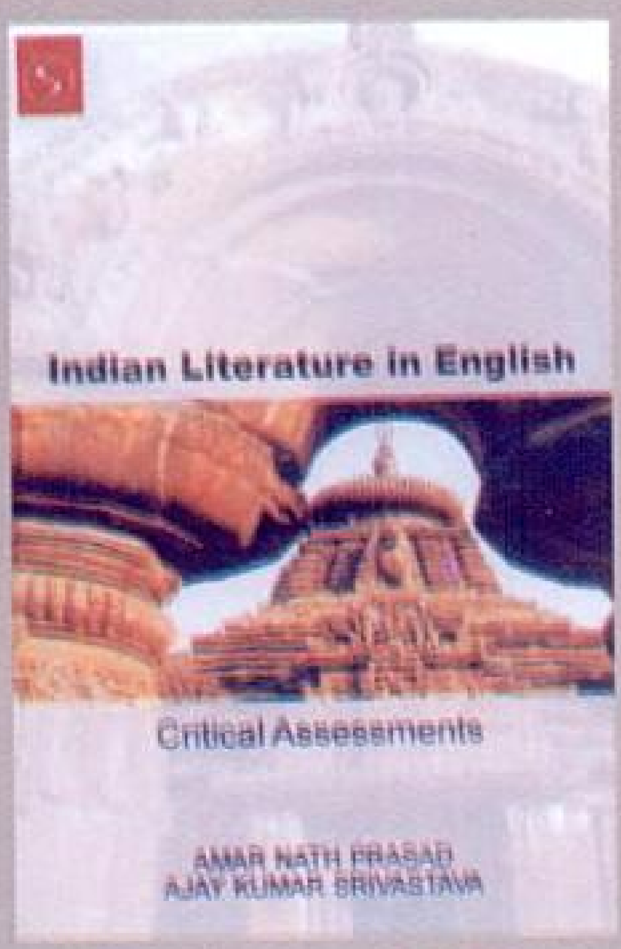
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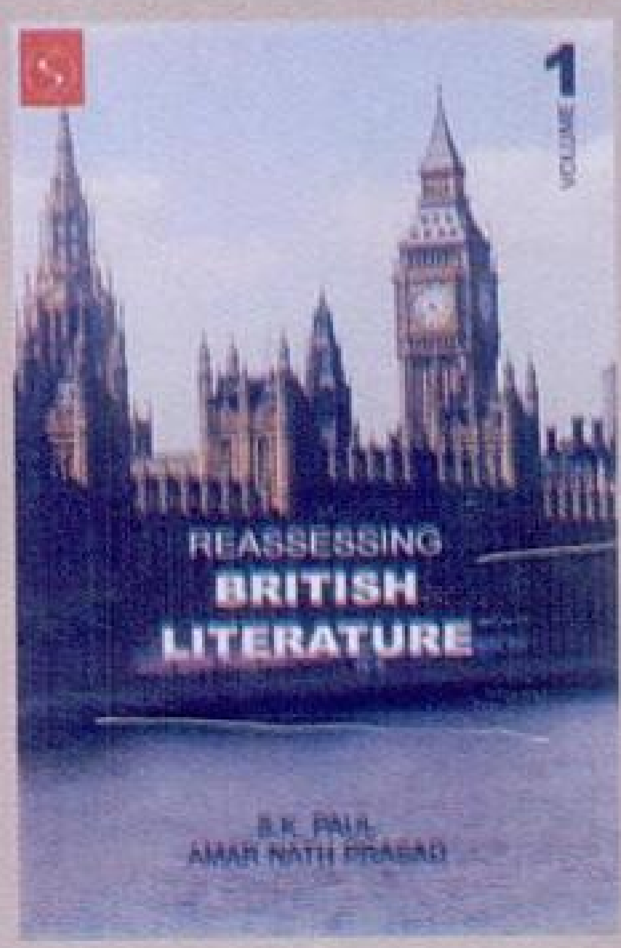
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